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## Making books for pastoral care in late eleventh-century Worcester: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius MS 121 and Hatton MSS 113 + 114

During the episcopate of St Wulfstan of Worcester (1062-1095) a large number of books, many in English, were produced by Worcester scribes; some related to efforts to record the Worcester community's Anglo-Saxon past, others were connected with Worcester's spiritual, theological and practical needs.<sup>1</sup> Wulfstan provides one point of continuity in the English Church during the political, institutional and spiritual developments of the late eleventh century.<sup>2</sup> His episcopal career (just) spans both sides of the Norman Conquest in 1066; his time in office coincided with substantial political developments and subsequent changes in personnel in the English Church, but it also saw further-reaching ecclesiastical reforms associated with Pope Gregory VII.<sup>3</sup> This essay focuses on two books produced near the beginning of St Wulfstan's episcopate which offer important evidence for the ways in which material was gathered, organised and copied to create resources for pastoral care, primarily in the vernacular. These books survive as three manuscripts, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius MS 121 and Hatton MSS 113 + 114, and have close connections to Wulfstan himself, perhaps reflecting his own concerns: Wulfstan's particular interest in pastoral care is described in some detail in the *Life* written about him in the twelfth century by William of Malmesbury (d. c. 1143), drawing on an earlier, Old English *Life* by the Worcester monk, Coleman (d. 1113).<sup>4</sup> Detailed codicological analysis of the manuscripts reveals both the various stages of planning and production of the volumes, and significant changes to the original plan during the course of copying. Close examination of the texts included in the volumes, and the way that they were reorganised, adapted and edited as part of the process of compilation and copying, casts light on the intended uses and users of the books, and a concern to provide appropriate and effective resources for Worcester's episcopal and pastoral needs. Importantly, these Worcester volumes therefore allow an exploration not only of how pastoral care and episcopal duties were performed, but also of the detailed decisions about the planning and production of books for these tasks.

### Making books

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<sup>1</sup> On manuscripts in late Anglo-Saxon Worcester see A. Corrêa, 'The liturgical manuscripts of Oswald's houses', and R. Gameson, 'Book production and decoration at Worcester in the tenth and eleventh centuries', in N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (eds), *St Oswald of Worcester: life and influence* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1996), pp. 285-324 and 194-243 respectively; R. Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the library of Worcester and the spirituality of the medieval book', in Barrow and Brooks (eds), *St Wulfstan and his world*, pp. 59-104; E. Treharne, 'Bishops and their texts in the later eleventh century: Worcester and Exeter', in W. Scase (ed.), *Essays in Manuscript Geography* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 13-28; F. Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c. 870 to c. 1100* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

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<sup>2</sup> E. Treharne, *Living through Conquest: The Politics of Early English, 1060-1220* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 105-21.

<sup>3</sup> For information about St Wulfstan, see the essays in J. Barrow and N. P. Brooks (eds), *St. Wulfstan and his world* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). Recent work has stressed that eleventh-century reform in the English Church began well before the Norman Conquest; see for example Treharne, *Living through Conquest*, pp. 104-8.

<sup>4</sup> William of Malmesbury's *Vita S. Wulfstani* was written between 1124 and 1142, and is edited and translated in M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives. Lives of S.S. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 7-155; see pp. xiii-xxv for information about dates and sources. Wulfstan's concern for pastoral care is noted at (for example) I.7-8, 15, II.9, 14, III.7, 10, 14, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives*, pp. 32-7, 52-7, 78-81, 86-9, 116-17, 120-1, 126-9.

Junius MS 121 and Hatton MSS 113 + 114 contain several texts which date them quite closely to the first part of the episcopate of St Wulfstan. Hatton MS 113's first quire contains a calendar and computistical tables which begin at the year 1064, and the years 1062 and 1063 have been added above this, apparently by the same scribe who wrote the rest of the tables.<sup>5</sup> This fits exactly with the opening years of St Wulfstan's episcopate, although the addition of these years may also have been intended as commemoration of St Wulfstan's ordination, since 'ORWE' (probably 'Ordinatio Wulfstani Episcopi') is marked alongside the year 1063.<sup>6</sup> Immediately before the calendar (Hatton MS 113, f. i recto) is a copy of a letter to Wulfstan summoning him to the Council of Winchester in 1070, while canons of this council are among the early additions to Junius MS 121 (ff. 2v-3), as also are the canons of the Council of Winchester in 1076.<sup>7</sup> This all suggests that the volumes were probably produced in the 1060s with the letter and canons being copied in after the books had reached something like their final form, during the 1070s or later. The manuscripts show evidence of significant glossing activity during the period of Wulfstan's episcopate, although Hatton MSS 113 + 114 received more attention than Junius MS 121: during the latter part of the eleventh century (s. xi<sup>2</sup> or s. xi<sup>ex</sup>), ten hands contributed lengthy texts to the manuscripts in the form of whole homilies or quires,<sup>8</sup> and a further seven added glosses, corrections, and other annotations.<sup>9</sup> Two of these are identifiable as named individuals whose writing appears in a number of Worcester books: one is Coleman, usually assumed to be the monk who wrote the Old English *Life* of Wulfstan used by William of Malmesbury;<sup>10</sup> the other is Hemming, a Worcester monk who produced a cartulary commissioned by Wulfstan.<sup>11</sup> Later glossators include the 'Tremulous Hand', suggesting that both volumes were still in Worcester in the thirteenth century, and other thirteenth- and fourteenth-century hands which attest to the continuing interest in these books.<sup>12</sup>

For the most part, the main texts in the manuscripts were composed by an earlier generation of clergy: a substantial number of the texts are associated with Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham (d.c.1010) and Archbishop Wulfstan (d.1023). The contents of the two volumes are distinct, but complementary: Junius MS 121 is a collection of regulatory, penitential, instructional and

<sup>5</sup> Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 51 and n. 168.

<sup>6</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 398; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 51 and n. 168.

<sup>7</sup> These texts are edited in D. Whitelock, *et al.*, *Councils and synods with other documents relating to the English Church. 1, pt. 1: A.D. 871-1066; 1, pt. 2: 1066-1204* (Oxford, 1981), II.568 (no. 86.I, letter to Wulfstan); II.574-6 (no. 86.IX, canons of the legatine council of Winchester, 1070); II.616-20 (no. 93, canons of the council of Winchester, 1076).

<sup>8</sup> See Scragg, *Conspectus*, nos. 172, 899, 902, 904, 906, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935.

<sup>9</sup> See Scragg, *Conspectus*, nos. 87, 900, 901, 903, 905, 936, 937.

<sup>10</sup> See Scragg, *Conspectus*, no. 87. See N. R. Ker, 'Old English notes signed "Coleman"', *Medium Ævum* 18 (1949), 29-31; W. P. Stoneman, 'Another Old English note signed "Coleman"', *Medium Ævum* 56:1 (1987), 78-82; A. Orchard, 'Parallel lives: Wulfstan, William, Coleman and Christ', in Barrow and Brooks (eds), *St Wulfstan and his World*, pp. 39-57; D. F. Johnson and W. Rudolf, 'More notes by Coleman', *Medium Ævum* 79:1 (2010), 1-13. See also P. A. Stokes, 'The vision of Leofric: manuscript, text and context', *Review of English Studies* 63 (2012), 529-50.

<sup>11</sup> See Scragg, *Conspectus*, no. 172; and N. R. Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary: a description of the two Worcester Cartularies in Cotton Tiberius A. xiii', in R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin and R. W. Southern (eds), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), pp. 49-75; F. Tinti, 'From episcopal conception to monastic compilation: Hemming's cartulary in context', *Early Medieval Europe* 11:3 (2002), 233-61; J. S. Barrow, 'The chronology of forgery production at Worcester from c. 1000 to the early twelfth century', in Barrow and Brooks (eds), *St Wulfstan and his World*, pp. 105-22.

<sup>12</sup> C. Franzen, *The tremulous hand of Worcester: a study of Old English in the thirteenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 31, 35-6.

homiletic texts,<sup>13</sup> while Hatton MSS 113 + 114, once one book but divided in two at least by the thirteenth century, is a homiliary which contains ordered collections for the period from Christmas to Pentecost, and for the feasts of saints from the beginning of May to the beginning of November.<sup>14</sup> The two volumes share a main scribe, who copied the greater part of both books, but they are connected too by the existence of contemporary sequential quire signatures in the opening quires of Junius MS 121 and Hatton 113.<sup>15</sup> Quires 2-14 in Junius MS 121 are signed a-n, all on the foot of the first folio recto of each quire, except for the first signature, which occurs on the final folio (verso) of quire 2. This sequence continues in Hatton 113, where quires 3-16 are signed p-z, &, Ț, þ, þ̅, again at the foot of the first folio recto of each quire. It has been suggested that the material in these first quires of Junius MS 121 and Hatton 113 was originally intended to be one large book of ecclesiastical institutes and homilies, but that this planned volume was divided up and reconceptualised when the book grew too large.<sup>16</sup> As the codicological and palaeographical analysis presented below will show, however, the scribe had in fact already determined that the project required two volumes rather than one by the time he finished writing the lettered quires of Junius MS 121. The scribe seems to have altered his planned project in a way which reflects the deliberate decisions which went into the production of books for pastoral care, and the careful choice of particular texts which would be most appropriate for his purposes.

The sequences of texts written on the lettered quires offer the clearest indication of the scribe's original plan and the changes that he subsequently made to this. The quiring of the volumes is set out diagrammatically in Figs. 1-3, which show how the books developed. The lettered quires of Junius MS 121 (quires 2-14, ff. 9-111v) were written more or less in one stint by the main scribe, and were clearly conceived of as a contiguous section. The scribe stopped his initial stint of writing on f. 110v, the penultimate folio of 'quire n', and even took care to fit the text he was copying on to that folio by writing the last two words underneath his final line rather than continuing on to the top of the next folio. The final leaf of this quire, f. 111, has two large holes in the parchment, and this might in theory suggest that the quire was destined initially to be the final leaf of a booklet, and perhaps to remain empty.<sup>17</sup> In fact, another text was ultimately written onto f. 111r, but there is an obvious change in the appearance of the hand: this may in fact be the same scribe after an interval of time (and perhaps using a thicker nib) rather than a different scribe, but it is a clear break all the same.<sup>18</sup> This stint of writing continues through three

<sup>13</sup> N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), no. 338; H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: a list of manuscripts and manuscript fragments written or owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), no. 644; Treharne, 'Bishops and their texts', p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 331, and see especially p. 391; Gneuss, *Handlist*, nos. 637, 638.

<sup>15</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 398-9, 417, 'Hand 1' of Junius MS 121 and Hatton MSS 113+114; D. G. Scragg, *A conspectus of scribal hands writing English, 960-1100* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012), no. 898.

<sup>16</sup> J. C. Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric: a supplementary collection: being twenty-one full homilies of his middle and later career, for the most part not previously edited with some shorter pieces, mainly passages added to the second and third series*, Early English Text Society 259-260 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), I.70-1; Treharne, 'Bishops and their texts', p. 20.

<sup>17</sup> It is interesting too that this final text, a pastoral letter written by Ælfric of Eynsham for Bishop Wulfsgie of Sherborne, seems to be incomplete in Junius MS 121, because it lacks the ending found in the only other copy of this letter. The letter is edited as Brief I in B. Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa IX* (Hamburg, 1914), pp. 1-34.

<sup>18</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 417 suggests 'possible change of hand' at ff. 111r and 136v; Scragg, *Conspectus* lists ff. 9-137v as one scribe (no. 898).

subsequent quires (15-17), but quire 17 is different from the rest of the quires in these Worcester books in that it contains ten folia rather than eight, and has twenty-one written lines rather than twenty-two.<sup>19</sup> The decision to use this larger quire, which successfully accommodated the remaining texts, may once again be connected to the scribe's concern for neatness, and to his respect for the physical integrity of pages and quires. At some stage after this second stint of writing (whether by the main scribe or by another person), quires 18-20 were added to the volume which is now Junius MS 121. These quires seem to be a self-contained unit or booklet of homilies, and it is not immediately obvious whether they were produced specifically for this collection or simply incorporated into the volume later.<sup>20</sup> The scribe identified as Hemming (Ker's Hand 3; Scragg's no. 172) copied texts in this booklet and also added the canons of the Council of Winchester in 1070 to the first folios of Junius MS 121.<sup>21</sup> This suggests that whatever the specific context of production, the booklet was probably copied not too long after the lettered quires of Junius MS 121, and may have been added to the other quires at a relatively early stage.

The crucial point here is that the lettered quires were at some point conceived of as an independent contiguous section, and this is confirmed by the table of contents copied in the first quire of Junius MS 121, at ff. 5r-8r. This table covers only the material in the lettered quires, up to the end of f. 110v (the penultimate leaf of quire 14, lettered 'n'). It is less clear why the scribe apparently chose to begin his table of contents in the middle of quire 1, on f. 5r, rather than at the beginning (i.e. on f. 1r). This scribe's general practices show that he presented his texts carefully and deliberately, and preserved the physical integrity of the page, in many cases starting texts or paragraphs at the top of a new page even when they could have begun at the end of the previous page, or taking care where he left blank spaces.<sup>22</sup> It is possible that he started in the middle of a quire because he wrote the table of contents after he had determined that the quires lettered a-n would form an independent section, and he knew that he would not need more than a few leaves for the table; but in that case one might expect that he would have simply used a couple of bifolia rather than 'wasting' a whole quire.

It is worth considering another hypothesis, which unfortunately cannot be confirmed unless the manuscript were to be unbound (and perhaps not then either). The scribe might initially have started his table of contents on the first leaf of a quire when he began the project, assuming that the texts in a large book would fill most of a quire. This would have meant that the table of contents that he wrote ran from f. 1r to f. 4r. Once the plan was changed and the book was no longer intended to be so large, this would have left the four folios in the second half of the quire blank, in between the table of contents and the texts listed therein. If the scribe felt that it was preferable for the blank folios to come before the table of contents, rather than between the table and the texts, he might have folded the quire back on itself so that it was 'inside out': the outermost folio would then become the innermost, which would place his table of contents in

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<sup>19</sup> H. Foxhall Forbes, 'Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius MS 121: Ecclesiastical Institutes, Homilies.' in O. Da Rold, T. Kato, M. Swan and E. Trehearne, *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060-1220* (University of Leicester, 2010, <http://www.le.ac.uk/ee/em1060to1220>), accessed June 2014.

<sup>20</sup> P. R. Robinson, 'Self-contained units in composite manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon period', *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), 231-238, at p. 235.

<sup>21</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 417; Scragg, *Conspectus*, no. 172.

<sup>22</sup> Some examples include: Junius MS 121 ff. 22r-v, 24r-v, 52v-53r, 63r, 82r, 101r-v, 110v.

the middle of the quire with four blank leaves *before* the table of contents rather than afterwards, so that what had been folio 1r would then become f. 5r (see Figs. 4-5 for a digrammatic representation of this). Since the folios are arranged with hair sides facing hair sides, and flesh sides facing flesh sides (HFFH), the arrangement of the leaves of the quire remains the same even if the quire were to be folded back on itself.

However the table of contents came to its present form, it is clear that the lettered quires were written more or less in one stint and are in some sense an earlier plan for, and somewhat distinct from, the rest of the material which now makes up Junius MS 121. It is therefore all the more notable that Hatton MS 113's lettered quires (2-16) do *not* show any distinction in copying in relation to the quires which follow them immediately, but form part of one stint of writing by the main scribe which extends on to those unlettered quires. The homilies in Hatton MS 113 run from the last leaf of quire 16 (the last lettered quire) through to the first leaf of quire 17 without any break, and this stint of copying runs all the way through to what is now Hatton MS 114, f. 201r, l. 7 (quire 26; see Figs 2-3). At this point, there is a change in the appearance of the hand (Hatton MS 114, f. 201r, l. 8, to f. 230v, l. 17), but this may be the main scribe's second stint of writing, perhaps with a different pen, like that in the final folio of Junius MS 121's quire 'n' (quire 14) rather than a different scribe.<sup>23</sup> The material copied in both the first and second stints of writing are included in Hatton MS 113's table of contents, along with the early addition of a homily rubricated 'De uno confessore' (ff. 230v-235v, though it is incomplete and two leaves are missing after f. 235v). This last homily and the table of contents were written by the same scribe, suggesting that both were added to the collection contemporaneously.<sup>24</sup>

This means that Hatton MS 113's lettered quires (2-16) are physically and visually integral to the first stint of writing (Hatton MS 113, quire 2, to Hatton MS 114, quire 26), and there is no obvious distinction between these quires and those that follow them, unlike the lettered quires in Junius MS 121. Despite this, many of the texts copied in the lettered quires of Hatton MS 113 do in fact have a different origin from the texts copied later in the volume, and this is significant because there is a clear connection with the material copied in the lettered quires of Junius MS 121. Importantly, it is here possible to see some of the deliberate choices made by the scribe of Junius MS 121 and Hatton MSS 113 + 114 in the organisation and production of his books. Much of Hatton MSS 113 + 114 is an ordered homiliary for the liturgical year, including a fairly large number of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*. This material falls into two separate groups. The first begins in Hatton 113's quire 16 (lettered 'þ'; the last of the lettered quires), on the third leaf (f. 115v) and covers the period from Christmas to Pentecost (running to Hatton 114, f. 140r). Then, after a homily for the feast of the birth of St Gregory (3<sup>rd</sup> March), the second group provides homilies for the feast days of saints from 1 May to 1 November (Hatton 114, ff. 147v-230r). In

<sup>23</sup> Ker notes that 'the appearance of the writing changes and there is perhaps a change of hand at the beginning of art. 72', i.e. Hatton MS 114, f. 201r (Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 396-7); similarly for Junius MS 121 he notes that 'changes in the appearance of the writing, but possibly not changes of hand at ff. 111 and 136v mark early additions to the original collection' (Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 417). Scragg gives as no. 898 the hand of Junius MS 121, ff. 9r-137v, Hatton MS 113, ff. 1r-144v, and Hatton MS 114, ff. 9r-201r, l. 6; Scragg's no. 899 is the hand which begins on f. 201r, l. 7 of Hatton MS 114. He does not refer at all to the hand which wrote the table of contents in Junius MS 121 on ff. 5r-8r, perhaps because much, although not all, of the table of contents is in Latin, and his *Conspectus* lists hands writing in English (Scragg, *Conspectus*, nos. 898, 899).

<sup>24</sup> Ker lists this scribe as 'Hand 2' of Hatton MSS 113+114 (*Catalogue*, p. 399); he is no. 902 in Scragg's *Conspectus*, and Scragg notes that he is also found making a marginal correction in Junius MS 121, f. 120v.

contrast, the material in Hatton MS 113's lettered quires is not organised continuously according to the liturgical year, and probably came to the compiler as a discrete collection of material which also included most of the texts copied into the first quires of Junius MS 121: the lettered quires in both manuscripts are therefore linked by the collection of texts they contain.

It is possible to identify this collection (or at least parts of it) with some certainty by comparison with another manuscript, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201 (Part I).<sup>25</sup> This is a somewhat miscellaneous compilation which contains a large quantity of material associated with Archbishop Wulfstan, including homilies, penitential and instructional texts, law codes, and some texts – and one hand – which seem to be connected with Winchester.<sup>26</sup> Here too the physical structure of the book indicates that not all the texts now copied in the manuscript originated in the same collection or exemplar (see the diagram of the quire structure, Fig. 6). The bulk of CCCC MS 201 was written by one scribe in the mid eleventh century (Ker's 'Hand 1' of 49B; Scragg's no. 127), perhaps at the New Minster, Winchester, but this scribe also incorporated into his compilation quires which had been partially used earlier in the century. The first four leaves of quires 1 and 13 contain material written by an early eleventh-century hand,<sup>27</sup> and the main scribe used the rest of these quires for copying some of his texts, thus integrating these quires, and the texts they contained, completely into his book.

The work of CCCC MS 201's main scribe in quires 1-9 includes a large number of texts shared in common with Junius MS 121 and Hatton MS 113 (see the tables of contents in the Appendix; and Fig. 6 for the quire structure), and some of these texts are preserved uniquely in these volumes.<sup>28</sup> After this shared material the same scribe copied an Old English translation of Apollonius of Tyre, beginning on the third leaf of quire 9 (p. 131), and evidently continuing on a quire which is now missing, before a bifolium (now quire 10) was added to finish the text. Only three out of these four leaves were needed to complete the text, but the final folio verso of the quire (p. 146) was left blank, as was the last third of the final folio recto (p. 145). Although the next text in the manuscript was also copied by the main scribe, it is significant that he chose to start writing at the top of the first leaf of quire 11 (p. 147) rather than continuing in the blank spaces at the end of quire 10. The content of quire 11 is also clearly distinct from the previous quires since the texts it contains are not connected with Archbishop Wulfstan, and two of them copied at the beginning of the quire seem rather to be connected with Winchester. These are the 'Kentish Royal Legend' (pp. 147-9) and *Seggan be þam Godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston* (pp. 149-51), which now survive together only in another New Minster book (now London, British Library, MS Stowe 944), copied in the early 1030s.<sup>29</sup> Following these texts, another hand

<sup>25</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 49B; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 65.5.

<sup>26</sup> T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline minuscule, Oxford Palaeographical Handbooks* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. xv, n. 2; M. Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman manuscript art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: an illustrated catalogue* (2 vols, Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), I.478-9; P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the twelfth century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 209-10; P. Stokes, *English Vernacular Minuscule from Æthelred to Cnut circa 990 – circa 1035* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014), pp. 86, 91. See also J. Hill, 'The "Regularis Concordia" and its Latin and Old English Reflexes', *Revue bénédictine* 101 (1991), 299-315, esp. p. 311.

<sup>27</sup> This is CCCC MS 201, pp. 1-7 and 161-7; the hand is Scragg's no. 125; Ker, *Catalogue*, 49A (see also Gneuss, *Handlist*, 65).

<sup>28</sup> Budny, *Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi*, I.478-9.

<sup>29</sup> See the facsimile and discussion in Simon Keynes, *The Liber vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester: British Library Stowe 944: together with leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A. VIII and British Library Cotton Titus D. XXVII*, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 26 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996). The texts are

(Ker's Hand 2 of no. 49B; Scragg's no. 128) copied a translation of Genesis, using the blank pages of quire 11 and continuing on to quire 12, although three leaves are now missing.<sup>30</sup> The last quire of CCCC MS 201, now quire 13, opens with poetry copied by the early eleventh-century hand, to which the main scribe added more poetry.<sup>31</sup> Finally, another scribe (Ker's 'Hand 3' of no. 49B), whose hand appears also in a missal connected with Winchester, copied confessional texts on the last leaves of the manuscript.<sup>32</sup>

The substantial correspondence between the first sections of CCCC MS 201 (i.e. quires 1-9) on the one hand, and of Junius MS 121 (i.e. quires 2-14) and Hatton MS 113 (i.e. quires 2-16) on the other, can be seen from the itemisation of the manuscripts' contents in the Appendix. There are some differences: the first sections of Junius MS 121 contain a number of penitential texts which CCCC MS 201 does not; and Junius MS 121 lacks CCCC MS 201's law codes, as well as the texts on the resting places of saints which may be associated with Winchester, and the Old English translations of *Apollonius of Tyre* and *Genesis*, neither of which is associated with Archbishop Wulfstan. However, more than half of the items in the first sections of Junius MS 121 and of Hatton MS 113 are also found in CCCC MS 201. With one exception, the material which is shared by CCCC MS 201 and the Worcester manuscripts is found *only* in the lettered quires of Junius MS 121 and Hatton 113.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, there are several texts or groups of texts which are found in the same sequences in CCCC MS 201, and in either Junius MS 121 or in Hatton 113. This suggests strongly that these sequences represent what was in the exemplars available to the main scribes of CCCC MS 201, and of Junius MS 121 and Hatton MSS 113 + 114.

Although these parallel sequences are instructive, it is not always clear where responsibility for differences in the order of the material lies, nor precisely how similar the two exemplars were. Textual differences between shared items indicate that CCCC MS 201 and the Worcester manuscripts do not derive from a single exemplar, even though they evidently drew on similar collections of material.<sup>34</sup> At times the scribe of CCCC MS 201 clearly made deliberate choices about the placing of his texts, such as his decision to keep poetic material together in the manuscript. He copied two Old English poems (*Lord's Prayer II* and *Gloria*) into what is now quire 13, which was partly filled by early eleventh-century copies of an Old English poetic rendering of Bede's *De die iudicii* (*Judgement Day II*) and two other religious poems (*An Exhortation to Christian Living*, and *Summons to Prayer*).<sup>35</sup> The Old English *Gloria* is found also in Junius MS

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edited by F. Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands: angelsächsisch und lateinisch* (Hannover: Hahn, 1889), pp. 1-19, and discussed by D. W. Rollason, 'Lists of saints' resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), 61-94. There was also a copy of *Seegan*, without the 'Kentish Royal Legend', in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius MS D.xvii, but this was destroyed in 1731 in the Cotton fire: see Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 222.

<sup>30</sup> See R. Marsden (ed.), *The Old English Heptateuch and Ælfric's Libellus de veteri testamento et novo, Volume One: Introduction and Text*, Early English Text Society 330 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. liv-lvi.

<sup>31</sup> See further below.

<sup>32</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 90; Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, p. xv, n. 2; the missal is now Le Havre, Bibliothèque municipale, 330 (see Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 837).

<sup>33</sup> The exception is one of Wulfstan's sermons, ed. D. Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1957), Ib.

<sup>34</sup> See for example R. Fowler, *Wulfstan's 'Canons of Edgar'* (London, 1972), pp. xvi-xviii, xx; Bethurum, *Homilies*, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> These last two poems may in fact be one poem: see F. C. Robinson, "'The Rewards of Piety': Two Old English Poems in their Manuscript Context", in P. J. Gallacher and H. Damico (eds), *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp. 193-200, at pp. 193-4. For the argument that the scribe adapted some of his homilies to fit their manuscript context, see A. Orchard, 'On Editing Wulfstan', in E. M.



121, and therefore most likely belongs to the shared material available to both the scribe/compiler of CCCC MS 201 and the scribe/compiler of the Worcester manuscripts.<sup>36</sup> For the most part, however, it is quite difficult to ascertain any clear organising principle in CCCC MS 201, and on occasion it looks in fact like the scribe simply got confused. One notable example of this is the copies of two law codes concerned with tithes, I Æthelstan and I Edmund. CCCC MS 201's rubric for I Edmund incongruously makes reference to Æthelstan, even though in CCCC MS 201 I Æthelstan is separated from I Edmund by some forty-five pages.<sup>37</sup> However, I Æthelstan is found immediately preceding I Edmund in another book, now London, British Library, Cotton Nero MS A.i. This is an early eleventh-century manuscript, perhaps from Worcester or York, which is connected with Archbishop Wulfstan not only by its contents (some of which are shared with both CCCC MS 201 and Junius MS 121), but also by the presence of what is probably Archbishop Wulfstan's handwriting.<sup>38</sup> It seems likely that the exemplar of CCCC MS 201 may also have contained these two law codes in sequence, as witnessed by the confusion of CCCC MS 201's scribe in the rubric for I Edmund. The description of Archbishop Wulfstan's text on regulations for priests as 'eadgares gerædnes' (the 'Canons of Edgar', by which title this text is usually now known) is, I suspect, probably a similar example of this confusion based on the sequence of the exemplar: the copy of I Edmund in Nero MS A.i is followed by III Edgar, and although CCCC MS 201's scribe in fact copied a different text after I Edmund, he probably accidentally retained the rubrics in the order in which the texts occurred in his exemplar.

The lettered quires of Junius MS 121 and Hatton MS 113, by contrast, suggest a deliberate (re)arrangement and (re)organisation of texts, which is also visible by comparison with CCCC MS 201. Two of the homilies shared by CCCC MS 201 and the Worcester manuscripts, now published as Napier XXV and Bethurum VIIa, seem to have been in sequence in the exemplars but were treated quite differently by the respective scribes/compiler. Napier XXV exhorts the keeping of baptismal promises and the learning of the Creed: it is copied in Hatton MS 113 (ff. 65r-66r, quire 10, 'x') and CCCC MS 201 (pp. 22-3), and in both manuscripts it is headed 'To folce'.<sup>39</sup> In CCCC MS 201 the scribe seems to have made an error of eyeskip towards the end of this homily, omitting part of the last sentence of Napier XXV and going straight into Bethurum VIIa. He also omitted a fairly sizeable chunk of the beginning of Bethurum VIIa, so that the two homilies run together as one long text (CCCC MS 201, pp. 22-4).<sup>40</sup> In contrast, Hatton MS 113's copy of Napier XXV concludes with the statement 'se ðe ledenlare rihtne geleafan understandan

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Treharne and S. Rosser (eds), *Early Medieval English Texts and Interpretations: Studies presented to Donald Scragg* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), pp. 311-40, p. 316.

<sup>36</sup> *Gloria* is at ff. 43v-44v of Junius MS 121, where it is included in a composite text.

<sup>37</sup> See Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 49B, at pp. 85-7: I Æthelstan is found on p. 53 (Ker's art. 29), and is ed. F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen. Bd. 1, Texte und Übersetzung* (Halle: 1903), pp. 146-9; I Edmund is found at pp. 96-7 (Ker's art. 44), and is ed. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze*, pp. 184-7.

<sup>38</sup> I Æthelstan is at ff. 86v-87v, followed by I Edmund on f. 87v, but two leaves are probably missing at this point in the manuscript. N. R. Ker, 'The handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (eds), *England before the conquest: studies in primary sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 315-31; H. R. Loyn, *A Wulfstan manuscript containing institutes, laws and homilies: British Museum Cotton Nero A.i*, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 27 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1971). The part of the book connected with Wulfstan is now ff. 70r-177v (see Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 164).

<sup>39</sup> A. S. Napier, *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben* 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883), pp. 122-4.

<sup>40</sup> Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 157-65.

ne cunne, geleornige huru on englisc and cwede þus gelome: *Credimus in unum Deum, patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum rqr.* þis is awriten on ðære penitentiale.’ (‘he who does not know how to understand correct belief with Latin learning, learn it instead in English and say thus frequently: *We believe in one God, Father and Son and Holy Spirit etc.*: this is written in the penitential’).<sup>41</sup> The ‘penitential’ referred to here seems to be Junius MS 121, and the reference is probably specifically to the copy of Bethurum VIIa in Junius MS 121, found at ff. 64r-65v (the beginning of quire 9, ‘h’), in the middle of a body of penitential material.<sup>42</sup> This has two significant implications. Firstly, these two homilies (i.e. Napier XXV and Bethurum VIIa) were probably sequential in the material available to the two main scribes of CCCC MS 201 and of the Worcester manuscripts. Secondly, the person responsible for organising and copying the material in Junius MS 121 and Hatton MSS 113 + 114 must have read the contents of these two homilies and then determined that they should be copied not sequentially, but in two separate places according to how they might most appropriately be used.

Most importantly, Hatton MS 113’s reference (in quire 10, ‘x’) to ‘the penitentiale’ indicates that by the time this statement was written the material was probably conceptualised as as two separate volumes, or at least as two different collections which were separate and distinct in some way. It is not entirely clear whether ‘penitentiale’ was intended to refer to the conceptual text or the physical, copied manifestation of a text (i.e. quires, or a book), since the word can mean both: it appears in titles, but Ælfric also includes a ‘penitentialem’ in his list of books that priests should own and know how to use.<sup>43</sup> Other books in his list are those like ‘mæsseboc’ or ‘handboc’, and this suggests that whether Ælfric was thinking of booklets or bound books he may have been thinking of the physical object as much as the texts.<sup>44</sup> In any case, it is clear that there was significant flexibility in terminology: a book like Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. MS 482, written in the middle of the eleventh century at Worcester and including penitential texts as well as liturgical offices, might well be classed as a ‘handboc’, although some of its content might also appear in books like Junius MS 121.<sup>45</sup> In fact, it is likely that there was no consistent terminology to refer to books like Junius MS 121, although it is interesting to note that in one of the lists recording books which Bishop Leofric gave to Exeter in the mid eleventh century, ‘.i. canon on leden 7 .i. scriftboc on englisc’ may refer to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190, another manuscript which is, like Junius MS 121, one of the ‘commonplace books associated with Archbishop Wulfstan’.<sup>46</sup> But whether Hatton MS 113’s reference to a

<sup>41</sup> Hatton MS 113, f. 66r. See Napier, *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, p. 124, n; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 393, art. 22.

<sup>42</sup> Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 157-65; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 393. For further discussion of this material, see H. Foxhall Forbes, ‘Affective piety and the practice of penance in late-eleventh-century Worcester: the address to the penitent in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 44 (2015), pp. 309-45.

<sup>43</sup> See for example the book list included in the letter for Wulfsig, the last item in ‘quire n’ of Junius MS 121: I.52, ed. Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, p. 13. Ælfric uses ‘penitentialem’ both in Latin and in Old English, rather than ‘scriftboc’, which is an approximate vernacular equivalent, e.g. 2.137, ed. Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, p. 51.

<sup>44</sup> See for example I.52, 2.137, ed. Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 13, 51.

<sup>45</sup> H. Gneuss, ‘Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English terminology’, in M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (eds), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England. Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 91-141; M. Lapidge, ‘Surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England’, in Lapidge and Gneuss (eds), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 33-89, e.g. no. X.

<sup>46</sup> Lapidge, ‘Surviving booklists’, no. X; P. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 4 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993), pp. 38-9; E. M. Treharne, ‘Ecclesiastical Institutes, &c.: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 190’, in O. Da Rold, et al. (eds), *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts*

‘penitentiale’ was intended to designate a text, a specific portion of a volume, or a whole volume, it does at the very least show that the homily Bethurum VIIa had already been incorporated into the penitential section of Junius MS 121, and presumably also that the copying of the lettered quires, including the break before the last leaf of quire 14 (‘n’), had already been completed, so that these quires were conceptualised as somehow distinct from the quires which now form the first part of Hatton MS 113. Conversely, there is no evidence that the two sets of lettered quires alone were ever bound together to make one volume, or as discrete units (without the additional quires that now follow them) to make two.

This discussion has teased out the process by which the scribe of Junius MS 121 and Hatton MSS 113 + 114 produced two volumes from a collection of material which he inherited from an earlier generation of clergymen (and which was also available in some form to the scribe of CCCC MS 201), how he divided it between different books according to content and form, and how this shows the deliberate decisions made in the course of creating new volumes for contemporary use. The question remains of when and why the quires were lettered if they were in fact never copied up as a continuous sequence intended to form one volume, and why ‘o’ is missing. In fact, quire ‘o’ seems simply to be Hatton MS 113’s quire 2, which precedes the lettered quires, since this contains texts found in the same sequence as at the beginning of CCCC MS 201, and the final text of quire 2 continues uninterrupted into quire 3 (‘p’); it is possible that the ‘o’, if it was ever there, has simply faded away. The ‘when’ and ‘why’ of the quire lettering is the more interesting question, since it is often assumed that quire letters were only added in relation to binding, and it is clear that these lettered quires were never all bound together. It is possible that the scribe lettered the quires either as he went along, or once he had decided that the two sections should be independent, or even that he ruled and lettered a large stack of quires in anticipation of his original project; the material shared with CCCC MS 201 which formed the first phases of copying is contained entirely within these lettered quires and so he may have simply judged accurately how many quires would be needed to copy all of these texts.<sup>47</sup>

More interestingly, it is clear that the quires remained unbound for some time, although it is not possible to ascertain how long this might have been. It is impossible in fact to identify with certainty whether the volumes were bound before the thirteenth century, although this of course does not mean that they were not.<sup>48</sup> However, it is worth bearing in mind the possibility that the volumes remained as an unbound collection of quires which could be removed and replaced when needed, rather than being turned instantly into bound books. Some of the texts in Junius MS 121 in particular might have been easier to use if the quires were unbound and therefore removable and returnable, rather than fixed into a larger book. The physical size of the pages (265mm x 155mm) is not impossibly large for practical use, but the thickness of the volumes when bound might have made loose quires preferable. It is clear from surviving booklists that

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1060 to 1220 (University of Leicester, 2010), available at <http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.CCCC.190.htm> (accessed March 2013).

<sup>47</sup> It is clear that other scribes in this period numbered quires as they went along: an example from Italy is Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS M. 79 SUP; see B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge, *Biblical commentaries from the Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 275-7. It is also worth remembering that in many cases the scribe and binder may have been the same person: see M. Gullick, ‘Bookbindings’, in R. Gameson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 1. c.400–1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 294-309, at pp. 308-9.

<sup>48</sup> See Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 391.

'books' were not always bound, and that some sets of quires were left unbound until comparatively late: in the case of the Worcester books, and again for Junius MS 121 in particular, selected relevant quires could simply have been removed from the wrapper (or box?) in which they were contained, and returned once they had been used, whether the use was the copying of texts for, or practical delivery of, pastoral care.<sup>49</sup> In such a scenario, the quire lettering would evidently be useful in ensuring that the quires were replaced in the correct order for the next use. Decisions on the binding of volumes like these may also be connected with how these books were used and conceptualised as essential resources for pastoral care during St Wulfstan's episcopate. And while the examination of the production process and final forms of the books demonstrates one aspect of the deliberate decisions which went into their creation, analysis of the texts and their arrangement within these volumes shows how the scribe carefully created a primarily vernacular collection which was specifically useful for episcopal pastoral care and especially for the training of priests.

### Pastoral Care

Junius MS 121 and Hatton MSS 113 + 114 have close connections with St Wulfstan specifically, and this is important in considering how the books might have been used, and who might have been using them. Many names were added to the calendar in the opening leaves of Hatton MS 113, including the obits of St Wulfstan's parents and one of his brothers (and, ultimately, his own name too);<sup>50</sup> and, as noted already, the letter summoning Wulfstan to the Council of Winchester in 1070 was copied into Junius MS 121 as an early addition. This raises the possibility that these books were not simply produced during his episcopate as part of the day-to-day copying activity of the Worcester scriptorium, but rather were specifically commissioned by him, just as he is known to have commissioned cartularies and other works. The two volumes which were ultimately produced align well with the Wulfstan's concerns as they are presented in the *Life* written by William of Malmesbury, although it has to be remembered that hagiographical convention might also be responsible for William's account of Wulfstan as a bishop who was especially concerned with preaching, pastoral care and penance.<sup>51</sup> However, the material in Junius MS 121 is so closely connected with episcopal duties that it is difficult to conceive of it having been produced for anyone except Wulfstan and his immediate deputies, and evidence of the use of both books, but especially Hatton MSS 113 + 114, also links the volumes to his inner circle.

The ultimate result of the scribe's division of his material was that two volumes of rather different natures were produced, one homiliary and one book of regulatory material. The

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<sup>49</sup> M. Gullick, 'From scribe to binder: quire tackets in twelfth century European manuscripts', in J. L. Sharpe (ed.), *Roger Powell: The Compleat Binder* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), pp. 240-259; Jean Vezin, "'Quaderni simul ligati': recherches sur les manuscrits en cahiers", in P. R. Robinson and R. Zim (eds), *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers. Essays presented to M.B. Parkes* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), pp. 64-70, pp. 64-70; P. R. Robinson, 'The format of books – books, booklets and rolls', in N. J. Morgan and R. M. Thomson (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. 2, 1100-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 41-54, at p. 52. See also Stokes, 'The vision of Leofric: manuscript, text and context'.

<sup>50</sup> Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 51 and n. 168. The names are printed and discussed by J. Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen: mit einem Katalog der libri vitae und Necrologien, Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung* 20 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), pp. 258-68, as also are those included in another manuscript which probably belonged to St Wulfstan, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 391.

<sup>51</sup> *Vita Wulfstani*, I.8, II.14, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives*, pp. 34-7, 86-9.

homiliary in Hatton MSS 113 + 114 was clearly intended as a resource for preaching, including liturgically ordered collections for some parts of the year as well as homilies suitable for multiple occasions. More concrete evidence for the use of Hatton MSS 113 + 114 is provided by the late eleventh-century glosses in the book, including notes in the hand of the scribe Coleman, who is known from William's *Life* – based at least to some degree on an Old English account written by Coleman himself – to have taken on some preaching duties for St Wulfstan.<sup>52</sup> While Coleman's notes suggest the specific context of public preaching, the manuscript probably found a number of other uses too: many of the Ælfrician homilies are effectively scriptural commentary, interpreting and elucidating Gospel texts, and so might have been used for theological study; some texts recount visions, which were always widely read and in Hatton MSS 113 + 114 attracted comments from readers; the homilies for saints' days might have been read or preached in the liturgical context of Mass or Office, or in the Chapter Office, or read privately for study or devotional purposes.<sup>53</sup> It is noteworthy too that while most of the homilies copied in Hatton MSS 113 + 114 were written in the late tenth or early eleventh century by Ælfric or Wulfstan, some of them may have been more recent compositions, possibly by a member (or members) of the Worcester community. Following a sermon by Ælfric for the first Sunday after Easter, the main hand copied four anonymous Rogationtide sermons in their proper liturgical place.<sup>54</sup> The last of these seems to be a relatively simple product which its most recent editors suggest may have been composed from memory and perhaps for an unlearned audience.<sup>55</sup> On the basis of verbal and stylistic similarities with a short text which was most likely composed specifically for inclusion in Junius MS 121, it is just possible that these texts were both authored by a member of the Worcester community, probably not long before the manuscripts were produced.<sup>56</sup> The collection of homilies here suggest that education and scholarship at a range of levels, as well as devotion and public performance in liturgical contexts, were all part of the intended and actual purposes of the homiliary.

The contents and organisation of Junius MS 121 point to intended uses which were different but complementary. As noted already, it is probably that one of the key intended users of the volume was St Wulfstan himself, as well as those who assisted him with his episcopal duties. This episcopal focus is clear right from the beginning of the book as it was originally planned: after the table of contents, the first item is Archbishop Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity*, a text which sets out the duties and responsibilities for different groups of people in the ideal Christian society. This text deals with kings and kingship as well as high-ranking nobility, secular and religious officials, the laity, and it includes detailed instructions for bishops, as well as men and women in religious life, both monks and nuns as well as priests and consecrated women (all of whom were

<sup>52</sup> *Vita Wulfstani*, II.16, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives*, pp. 92-5.

<sup>53</sup> For the varied uses of these kinds of manuscripts, see the discussion in S. Irvine, 'The compilation and use of manuscripts containing Old English in the twelfth century', in M. Swan and E. Treharne (eds), *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 41-61; J. Wilcox, 'The Audience of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* and the Face of Cotton Caligula A. xiv, fols. 93-130', in A. N. Doane and K. Wolf (eds), *Beatus Vir: Studies in Early English and Norse Manuscripts In Memory of Phillip Pulsiano* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), pp. 229-63.

<sup>54</sup> Hatton MS 114, ff. 97v-14v.

<sup>55</sup> J. Bazire and J. E. Cross (eds), *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 137-8.

<sup>56</sup> Foxhall Forbes, 'Affective piety and the practice of penance', pp. 321-4.

subject to the bishops in their dioceses).<sup>57</sup> The organisation and scope of *Polity* in Junius MS 121 is unique to this manuscript, and, given that the codicological analysis has shown the deliberate decisions taken by the scribe in the compilation of these volumes, it seems likely that he may also have rearranged *Polity* to a greater or lesser extent. This rearrangement includes the incorporation of texts which may have originally been separate items which were considered useful in creating a fuller and more episcopally focused text. The first of these is the work known as *Episcopus*, a short text by Archbishop Wulfstan which explores the duties and responsibilities of bishops; the second is rubricated 'incipit de synodo' and includes a compressed outline liturgy for opening a synod as well as instructions for what bishops should do at synods.<sup>58</sup> Towards the end of *Polity*, following two sections on the duties of priests and under the rubric 'Item synodalia decreta', Junius MS 121 includes Archbishop Wulfstan's discussion of the duties and responsibilities of priests known now as the 'Canons of Edgar' (based on the dubious rubric which this text is given in CCCC MS 201, as noted above), which includes a number of instructions in relation to synods and pastoral organisation.<sup>59</sup> As a result of these adaptations, Junius MS 121's copy of *Polity* is much more closely linked with the figure of the bishop and would have been especially useful for a bishop organising or attending synods.

Bishops were responsible for organising regular synods in their own diocese, but they also attended ecclesiastical councils as well as assemblies of the shire court and the larger-scale meetings of the king and his *witan* where legislation and policy were discussed.<sup>60</sup> William of Malmesbury does not mention diocesan synods in his *Life* of St Wulfstan, but he does mention Wulfstan's attendance at shire assemblies, ecclesiastical councils and the king's court.<sup>61</sup> At least some of these can be confirmed by other documentary evidence such as copies of the letter to Wulfstan in Hatton MS 113 and the canons of councils in Junius MS 121, as well as other material including his autograph signature to the record of the Council of Winchester in 1072.<sup>62</sup> It is possible too, as Francesca Tinti suggests, that the liturgical material for synods contained in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 146, a late eleventh-century pontifical from Worcester, should be associated with Wulfstan rather than with his successor, Samson, and this may offer further evidence of Wulfstan's attendance at synods.<sup>63</sup> The canons of the council held at Winchester in 1070 recorded in Junius MS 121 instruct that diocesan synods should be held every year, and the fact that these canons (and those of the council held at Winchester in 1076) were copied into Junius MS 121 rather than into Hatton MSS 113 + 114 is significant in considering the potential use-context of Junius MS 121 in relation to synodal and diocesan organisation and regulation. Their presence in the manuscript is particularly noteworthy since

<sup>57</sup> K. Jost, *Die Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical*, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten 47 (1959). Archbishop Wulfstan's purpose in creating this text is discussed by R. R. Trilling, 'Sovereignty and Social Order: Archbishop Wulfstan and the Institutes of Polity', in J. S. Ott and A. Trumbore Jones (eds), *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 58-85, although she does not for the most part consider the post-Wulfstan (Archbishop, not Saint) context of some of the manuscripts of 'Polity'.

<sup>58</sup> This text is edited by Whitelock, *et al.*, *Councils and Synods* 1, I.406-13 (no. 54).

<sup>59</sup> See R. Fowler, *Wulfstan's 'Canons of Edgar'* (London, 1972).

<sup>60</sup> The attendance of the bishop in shire courts is referred to in the laws of Edgar (III Edgar 5.2, ed. F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze*, 202-3); see also Giandrea, *Episcopal culture*, pp. 35-69, esp. 55-66.

<sup>61</sup> *Vita Wulfstani*, II.12, 21, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives*, pp. 82-5, 102-5.

<sup>62</sup> Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 285; for Wulfstan's signature, see Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Chartae Antiquae, A.2 (reproduced in Barrow and Brooks (eds), *St. Wulfstan and his world*, Fig. 4, p. 67).

<sup>63</sup> Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 282-5; see also Gameson, 'St Wulfstan', p. 60.

one of the bishop's major pastoral duties was to ensure that he and his priests were up-to-date on canon law. In addition, the fact that many of the texts incorporated into Junius MS 121's version of *Polity* refer specifically to the role of the bishop in ecclesiastical and secular judgements and describe the correct behaviour for bishops at such occasions, reinforces the impression that these texts were intended to prepare the bishop for his role in synods and other councils or assemblies, and perhaps also to be read out there.<sup>64</sup> The homily following *Polity* in Junius MS 121, headed 'Be godcundre warnunge', is one of Archbishop Wulfstan's homilies which would have been particularly appropriate for episcopal preaching at an occasion such as an assembly or synod (and indeed may have been composed for that purpose), since it addresses social and political concerns as well as religious ones, and focuses on the problem of disobedience.<sup>65</sup> Texts copied elsewhere in the manuscript are also related to the bishops's role at synods, such as the *Pastoral Letter* which Ælfric wrote for Bishop Wulfsig of Sherborne in the late tenth century, which was copied as the final text in quire 14 ('n'). The *Letter* is headed 'Be preoste synoðe' and was apparently intended for the bishop to address his priests at a diocesan synod. It has been described as a 'blueprint for how the Church should function', addressing abuses as well as ideal practice, and including a considerable amount of information about the priesthood as well as theological explanation and discussion.<sup>66</sup> As a collection, this material would have been extremely useful to a bishop engaged, as Wulfstan clearly was, in synods and other sorts of councils and assemblies, as well as diocesan regulation.

The substantial body of penitential and canonical material (occupying most of quires 9-13) which follows almost immediately at the end of *Polity* aligns closely both with the needs of episcopal pastoral care and with William's presentation of Wulfstan in his *Life*. Wulfstan was apparently noted for his compassion in encourage people to make confession, apparently both as part of regular pastoral care and specifically in the context of Lenten public penance: William describes the care and sympathy that the saint showed both towards those who came (apparently privately) to confess their sins to him, and towards those whom Wulfstan received as penitents on Maundy Thursday.<sup>67</sup> This might be a hagiographical trope, but the collection in Junius MS 121 does give the impression that confession and penance were one of the major concerns of the compiler.<sup>68</sup> One of the texts added to the first quire of Junius MS 121 was a record of the public penances decreed for those who took part in the Battle of Hastings,<sup>69</sup> and this, as well as the addition of the canons of the Councils of Winchester in 1070 and 1076, both suggest the importance of the book as a repository for canonical and penitential material. In addition, all or part of the manuscript was referred to in Hatton MSS 113 + 114 as the 'penitential'; and, as in so many other cases, the arrangement of penitential texts in Junius MS 121 is unique to this volume. Here there is a specific concern to provide material in the vernacular so that those who receive confession and penance must understand the process: the penitential section begins with a rubric which is unique to this manuscript, 'here is penance and confession for both clergy and laity,

<sup>64</sup> See for example *Episcopus*, c. 1, 4, 9, ed. Whitelock, *et al.*, *Councils and Synods 1*, I.418, 419-20 (no. 56).

<sup>65</sup> Bethurum, *Homilies*, no. XIX; see also J. Wilcox, 'Wulfstan and the twelfth century', in Swan and Treharne (eds), *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, pp. 87-91.

<sup>66</sup> Giandrea, *Episcopal culture*, 119. The text is edited by Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 1-34.

<sup>67</sup> *Vita Wulfstani*, I.6-7, III.7, 18, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives*, pp. 30-5 116-17, 134-5.

<sup>68</sup> See further Foxhall Forbes, 'Affective piety and the practice of penance', pp. 331-40.

<sup>69</sup> Whitelock, *et al.*, *Councils and Synods 1*, II.581-4 (no. 88).

those who have understanding and those who cannot understand the depth of Latin' ('her is scrift and andetnes ægðer ge gehadodra ge læwedra. þæra þe þæs andgites habbað and ðæs ledenes deopnesse ne cunnon'). The first text in the penitential section introduces confession and what should happen in the process of confession, what the priest should ask the penitent, and what kind of things the penitent should confess.<sup>70</sup> This is a section of the *Old English Handbook*, and it is followed by two items which seem to have been intended for priests to use in discussion with penitents in the context of the confessional. The first is a short text which appears to have been composed as an address to the penitent in the context of the confessional, and perhaps specifically for inclusion in Junius MS 121, since it reflects theological ideas of the latter part of the eleventh century;<sup>71</sup> the second is one of Archbishop Wulfstan's on the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, both crucial basic items of faith which the penitent was expected to know, but which were often discussed in the confessional, which offered a good opportunity for catechetical teaching.<sup>72</sup> After these homilies, more sections of the *Old English Handbook* and various other penitential texts were copied, outlining the various penances which priests could prescribe for the sins confessed to them. Taken together, these texts provided the would-be user of the book not only with instructions on how to hear confession and assign penance, but also with material for use in the confessional, to guide a conversation with the penitent. Whether for the bishop, the priests who were responsible for pastoral care in the cathedral, or for the priests who were trained in his diocese, this was clearly a valuable resource which was carefully constructed for a particular purpose.

Episcopal concern for priestly pastoral care, and specifically for training priests in their correct rights and responsibilities, is evident in a number of Junius MS 121's texts beyond those already mentioned. Junius MS 121 preserves the unique copy of an Old English text for a bishop's examination of candidates for ordination.<sup>73</sup> As it survives now, this is a composite text: the first six sentences are a translation of part of Haito's *Visio Wettini*, which may be Ælfric's work, and what follows appears to have been written by Archbishop Wulfstan.<sup>74</sup> It is not clear who was responsible for combining these two parts, and it might have been Archbishop Wulfstan himself, or someone (most likely at Worcester) between the early eleventh century and the time that Junius MS 121 was written. In its form in Junius MS 121 it is posed as a homily beginning 'Leofan men', but its content points to multiple possible uses. The translation of the vision which opens the piece warns priests of the terrible consequences they will face if they do not fulfil the commitments they accept through their ordination, and threatens punishment for those who are unchaste, while the examination itself sets out what priests ought to know before they are ordained. In its context in Junius MS 121, the composite text might have been used by St Wulfstan in examining candidates, or at a synod, with or without the account of the vision which precedes the questions. And while the concern over the chastity of priests was hardly new, perhaps the interests of the Gregorian reformers and the context of the late eleventh-century

<sup>70</sup> The text is part of the *Old English Handbook*, X31.00.01-X31.10.01, ed. A. Frantzen, *The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: A Cultural Database* (2008), <<http://www.anglo-saxon.net/penance>>, accessed November 2012.

<sup>71</sup> Foxhall Forbes, 'Affective piety and the practice of penance', 309-31.

<sup>72</sup> Bethurum, *Homilies*, no. VIIa.

<sup>73</sup> Jost, *Polity*, pp. 217-22; Whitelock, *et al.*, *Councils and Synods 1*, I.422-7 (no. 57). It is worth noting that the liturgical material for a synod in Junius MS 121 is very abbreviated and does not agree with the much more detailed ordo in CCC 146.

<sup>74</sup> Whitelock, *et al.*, *Councils and Synods 1*, I.422-3; J. T. Lionarons, *The homiletic writings of Archbishop Wulfstan: a critical study* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), pp. 39-40.



Church made the translation of this part of Haito's text particularly appealing as an adjunct to an examination for ordinands. Other texts in the book seem also to have been included with the specific purpose of priestly education in mind, such as the Old English text which explicates the symbolism of the Hours of the Divine Office and which offers a compressed outline liturgy, including vernacular translations of some of the psalm verses;<sup>75</sup> another is the two *Pastoral Letters* by Ælfric, one of which includes an extensive discussion of the mass and eucharistic theology in the context of the Easter liturgy. Candidates for ordination were required to be able to explain the faith to others, and to show how well they known the canons, as well as how they understand the symbolism of the mass and 'other church services'.<sup>76</sup> The texts in Junius MS 121 clearly provide a coherent collection of material, almost entirely in the vernacular, which would enable those responsible for educating priests to ensure that they fulfilled all the requirements: almost everything demanded by the questions for examination is satisfied by the contents of the book.

A crucial point here is the variety of priests for whom St Wulfstan was responsible as bishop. In theory, at least, the bishop was responsible for all priests in his diocese, both monastic and secular, whether in his cathedral, at monasteries, or at the various types of smaller churches.<sup>77</sup> St Wulfstan himself was a monk and, according to William of Malmesbury's *Life*, continued to emphasize the importance of his monastic calling and to fulfil his duties as a monk even while he was a bishop.<sup>78</sup> Identifying with precision the changes in the religious life which took place in Worcester in the tenth and eleventh centuries is difficult: twelfth-century sources record that St Oswald (d. 992) removed the secular canons and installed monks, as Æthelwold did in Winchester, but contemporary records do not indicate such dramatic change, implying instead that the process was much more gradual.<sup>79</sup> During Oswald's episcopate there may have been both monks and clerics at Worcester and eventually there were two church buildings, St Peter's as the episcopal seat and St Mary's for the monastic community: it seems though that St Mary's may have been built to accommodate a growing congregation rather than indicating the introduction of a monastic community which was distinct from the cathedral community, as Hemming explained in his cartulary.<sup>80</sup> Both of the buildings seem to have been still standing when St Wulfstan was made bishop, but he substantially rebuilt and reorganized them.<sup>81</sup> It is not entirely clear how the personnel serving these churches changed and developed over the

<sup>75</sup> This text is usually known as 'The Old English Benedictine Office', although it has long been recognized that this title is a mis-nomer: for an edition see J. M. Ure, *The Benedictine Office: an Old English text* (Edinburgh Edinburgh University Press, 1957); for a new edition and translation with up-to-date discussion see C. A. Jones, *Old English Shorter Poems. Volume 1: Religious and Didactic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

<sup>76</sup> 'Examination of candidates for ordination', cc. 11-12, ed. Whitelock, *et al.*, *Councils and Synods 1*, I.424-5.

<sup>77</sup> See J. Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 34-52, 271-4, 281, 310-43, for a discussion of the different types of secular clergy in particular.

<sup>78</sup> *Vita Wulfstani*, I.3, 14, III.14, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives*, pp. 22-7, 50-3, 126-7.

<sup>79</sup> J. S. Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester, 961-c.1100', in N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (eds), *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), pp. 84-99, at pp. 85-6; J. S. Barrow, 'Wulfstan and Worcester: Bishop and Clergy in the Early Eleventh Century', in M. Townend (ed.), *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 141-159, at pp. 149-50; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 25-35.

<sup>80</sup> Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 32; Thomas Hearne, *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesie Wigorniensis... Descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius, qui et eam partem Libri de Domesday, quæ ad Ecclesiam pertinet Wigorniensem, aliaque ad operis (duobus voluminibus comprehensi) nitorem facientia, subnexuit* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1723), II.342.

<sup>81</sup> See P. Barker, 'Reconstructing Wulfstan's cathedral', in Barrow and Brooks (ed.), *St Wulfstan and his World*, pp. 167-188.

eleventh century, especially as records of the members of the community tend to refer to individuals using their clerical grade, so that priests of any kind are referred to as 'priest' with no further indication of whether they are monastic or secular.<sup>82</sup> It is suggestive, though perhaps no more than this, that the book includes an English translation of a chapter of the *Regula Canonicorum* aimed explicitly at secular clergy, perhaps cathedral canons, including a specific reference to 'canoniclif', that is, 'canonical life', contrasting with (but comparable to) 'munuclif' or 'preostlif'.<sup>83</sup> But whatever the composition of the personnel within the cathedral precinct, St Wulfstan as bishop was also ultimately responsible for assessing and ordaining priests in town churches, priests in rural churches, and priests in monasteries elsewhere in his diocese, and the materials assembled in Junius MS 121 would undoubtedly have been an important resource for this.<sup>84</sup>

The material discussed so far relates only to the lettered quires of Junius MS 121 and, as already noted, it is possible that these remained unbound for some time; they were certainly not bound before the scribe began his second stint of copying. Various reference aids relating to these quires, such as the table of contents and the numbering of items both there and in the margins where the texts appear, suggest that this may have been intended as a reference resource. This should not be taken as an indication that Junius MS 121 was never intended to be a practical volume, however, since quick access to the appropriate material would presumably be facilitated by these reference aids; in addition, if the quires did remain unbound for some time, then presumably individual quires could have been removed from the box or wrapper in which they were contained, and returned in the correct order with the aid of the quire lettering. As a volume in its finished state, Junius MS 121 contrasts with some contemporary manuscripts copied in Worcester or of Worcester provenance which appear to have been intended to be easily portable, as part of their practical use for pastoral care. One example is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton MS 115, a book of homilies from the latter part of the eleventh century which comprises a series of booklets, one of which had been folded in half at some stage before binding.<sup>85</sup> Another Worcester book probably intended for portable and practical use was Laud misc. MS 482, dating from the mid eleventh century: this contains several of the vernacular penitential texts found also in Junius MS 121 (although not in the same order), and seems to have been designed as a book containing relevant material for priests attending the sick and dying.<sup>86</sup> As two larger volumes, Hatton MSS 113 + 114 and Junius MS 121 may have been used in a rather different way from these more portable books, but it is important to stress that this does not mean that they were not practical or not useful, not least since the glosses in both manuscripts attest to their usefulness. The outer leaves of these volumes and their individual quires show no

<sup>82</sup> Barrow, 'Community of Worcester', pp. 91, 98-9; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 25-38. See also Barker, 'Reconstructing Wulfstan's cathedral', and V. King, 'St Oswald's Tenants', in Brooks and Cubitt (eds), *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and influence*, pp. 100-116. It is interesting to compare the records of the Winchester monks in the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester (London, British Library, Stowe MS 944, for example at ff. 18r-20r, and 20v-22r), where clerical grade is also used.

<sup>83</sup> Junius MS 121, f. 57v, ed. Jost, *Polity*, p. 255.

<sup>84</sup> J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 489-97; Giandrea, *Episcopal culture*, pp. 98-123; and see Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, pp. 225-314.

<sup>85</sup> Robinson, 'Self-contained units', p. 231; Franzen, *The tremulous hand*, pp. 48-52.

<sup>86</sup> For discussion of this manuscript see V. Thompson, *Death and Dying in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 67-82; V. Thompson, 'The pastoral contract in late Anglo-Saxon England: priest and parishioner in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Miscellaneous 482', in F. Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral care in late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005), pp. 106-120.

evidence of wear and presumably they were not frequently (if ever) transported outside the immediate environment of Worcester's cathedral precinct, and they do not seem to have been intended as particularly portable volumes. Indeed, it is perhaps the thickness of the homiliary that meant that it was ultimately bound as two volumes rather than one, since it would be unwieldy as one volume; while it is not certain when precisely the homiliary was divided, with what is now quire 1 of Hatton 114 moved to its current position, it is evident that it continued to be used after this. However, much of the material in these volumes would not have needed to be moved far for it to be useful to Worcester's bishop and priests, and it is important to note that even when bound, Junius MS 121 is relatively compact and not impossibly big or heavy, even if it is not as slim and portable as some other volumes.<sup>87</sup> And for matters such as the ordination of priests, when the priests would be expected to be ordained in the cathedral at the appropriate liturgical times, there would be no need in any case to carry a volume like Junius MS 121 'into the field' in the way that a book like Laud misc. MS 482 is usually envisaged as being used.

Although it is unclear whether the lettered quires of Junius MS 121 remained unbound for a period of weeks, months, or years, it is evident that they began to be supplemented within a comparatively short space of time. The episcopal focus plainly remained central to the conception of the volume, since the first text which was added to expand it, beginning on the final leaf of 'quire n', was Ælfric's second Old English *Pastoral Letter* for Archbishop Wulfstan.<sup>88</sup> This was apparently composed to be read out on Maundy Thursday and discusses the consecration of chrism, an office reserved to the bishop, before explaining in some detail how chrism was to be used in the anointing of the sick, and focusing on the duties and responsibilities of priests.<sup>89</sup> Following this a number of homilies were added, some less specifically focused on the bishop's duties, although at least one of them is of a more general type which exhorts priests to warn their congregations of the imminence of the last days: this would be suitable for occasions of episcopal public preaching, and to encourage people to do penance.<sup>90</sup> Some of the homilies copied as early additions to Hatton MSS 113 + 114 also complement the episcopal focus of Junius MS 121, especially the homilies for the dedication of a church, which was a liturgical office reserved to the bishop. William recorded that Wulfstan dedicated many churches in his own diocese and beyond, and also consecrated stone altars (to replace wooden ones) in conformity with the prescriptions formulated at the Council of Winchester in 1070 (and recorded in the opening leaves of Junius MS 121); the homilies added to Hatton MSS 113 + 114 at an early stage were presumably useful to him in undertaking these services and were selected

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<sup>87</sup> Junius MS 121 measures 265mm x 155mm; in comparison, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 391, which is usually assumed to be St Wulfstan's personal – and portable – prayer book, is only slightly smaller, at 225mm x 135mm.

<sup>88</sup> Brief III, ed. Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 147-221.

<sup>89</sup> A note added by Coleman to another Worcester manuscript (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 178, p. 299) mentions the bishop's preaching about chrism on Maundy Thursday: CCC MS 178 was written earlier in the eleventh century but continued to be used at Worcester up to and during St Wulfstan's episcopate. See Ker, 'Old English notes signed "Coleman"': 29-31; J. Hill, 'Ælfric's "silent days"', *Leeds Studies in English* n.s.16 (1985), 118-131: 120-1; M. Clayton, 'Ælfric's *De auguriis* and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178', in K. O'Brien O'Keeffe and A. Orchard (eds), *Latin learning and English lore: studies in Anglo-Saxon literature for Michael Lapidge*, 2 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), II, pp. 376-94; Johnson and Rudolf, 'More notes by Coleman'.

<sup>90</sup> Bethurum, *Homilies*, no. Ib, pp. 116-18.

for an episcopal homiliary precisely because of this, rather than simply at random.<sup>91</sup> The early additions to both volumes and the way that they developed in tandem suggests that they continued to be understood as complementary volumes which were used together.

## Conclusion

The analysis of these manuscripts and texts shows that the two (later three) volumes which are now Junius MS 121 and Hatton MSS 113 + 114 were carefully and deliberately constructed, based on perceived needs in late eleventh-century Worcester. The development of the books over the course of their production indicates that the scribe began with one idea of the volume(s) he intended to create, but changed the organisation (and perhaps also scope) of his copying activity partway through. He took material which had presumably remained in the Worcester library since the episcopate of Archbishop Wulfstan in the early eleventh century, probably in one collection (whether bound or unbound), and organised it across two volumes with different, but complementary, purposes. Within these books, texts were selected and arranged in order to fulfil contemporary episcopal needs: someone had evidently read the individual items before deciding exactly where and how they should be placed, and the fact that some composite works (such as *Polity*) appear in this arrangement only in this manuscript suggests that the responsibility for that specific arrangement may lie with the scribe/compiler rather than with their author, Archbishop Wulfstan. The main scribe was evidently prepared to adapt and edit his texts as he went along: while some of the differences in the texts shared by CCCC MS 201 and Junius MS 121 or Hatton MSS 113 + 114 are attributable to the mistakes of CCCC MS 201's scribe, others seem to be deliberate decisions which originated with the scribe of the Worcester volumes; in at least one other case, a text was probably composed specifically for inclusion in these volumes.<sup>92</sup> Clearly, however, the books were organic and changing objects, since despite careful preparation the decision was ultimately made to change the initial plan for the books, most likely with practical and pastoral concerns in mind. Thus the bulk of the preaching material found its way into Hatton MSS 113 + 114, while texts more focused on episcopal and priestly pastoral care were contained in Junius MS 121, and both manuscripts soon received additions and annotations to expand their usefulness.

Since the dates added to the computistical tables at the beginning of Hatton 113 point to the early years of St Wulfstan's episcopate, and since there are other close connections between these books and St Wulfstan (such as the names in the calendar and the conciliar material associated with him), it is probable that these volumes were commissioned by St Wulfstan near the start of his episcopate, as a resource which he could (and presumably did) use throughout his tenure as bishop of Worcester, along with those who assisted him with his pastoral responsibilities, such as Coleman. As Elaine Treharne notes, manuscripts like these have most often been studied because they preserve texts written by Archbishop Wulfstan and Ælfric, rather than for the role that the books themselves might have played in religious life and culture at the time that they

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<sup>91</sup> *Vita Wulfstani*, I.14, II.15.1-2, II.17, II.22, III.10, III.14.2-15, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives*, pp. 50-1, 88-90, 94-7, 104-7, 120-3, 128-31; Council of Winchester, 1070, c. 5, ed. Whitelock, *et al.*, *Councils and Synods 1*, II.575.

<sup>92</sup> A notable example is the 'Canons of Edgar' (ed. Fowler, *Canons of Edgar*); it is also interesting to note that Ælfric's homily for the Sunday after Ascension in Junius MS 121 contains numerous changes in word order and an extra line, compared to the other manuscript copies of this text (ed. Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, no. IX, I.372-92, and see esp. p. 377); see also Bethurum, *Homilies*, pp. 2-3, 4; Treharne, 'Bishops and their texts', p. 21 and n. 3.

were created; and yet this is a topic about which these books evidently have much to say.<sup>93</sup> These volumes allow a glimpse into the efforts which went into making books for pastoral care and episcopal duties in late eleventh-century Worcester, and specifically the production of volumes which contained appropriate, customised and vernacular resources for these. It is clear that the writings of Ælfric and Archbishop Wulfstan were extremely influential and continued to be used and copied long after they were produced, but this is only part of the story.<sup>94</sup> These works were not chosen for copying in late eleventh-century Worcester simply because of their availability the library, as the examination of these volumes shows: instead, demonstrable care and interest was put into editing, adapting and arranging these earlier texts in order to provide organised and valuable resources for contemporary clergy operating in a specific episcopal context with particular concerns and needs.

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<sup>93</sup> Treharne, 'Bishops and their texts', 20.

<sup>94</sup> See especially the essays in Swan and Treharne, *Rewriting Old English in the twelfth century*.

Fig. 1. The quire structure of Junius 121

leafnumber	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Quire 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
Quire 2	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	a	
Quire 3	17: b	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
Quire 4	25: c	26	27	28	29	30	31	32		
Quire 5	33: d	34	35	36	37	38	39	40		
Quire 6	41: e	42	43: half-sheet	44	45	46: half-sheet	47	48		
Quire 7	49: f	50	51: half-sheet	52	53	54: half-sheet	55	56		
Quire 8	57: g	58	59	59*	60	61	62	63		
Quire 9	64: h	65	66	67	68	69	70	71		
Quire 10	72: i	73	74	75	76	77	78	79		
Quire 11	80: k	81	82	83	84	85	86	87		
Quire 12	88: l	89	90	91	92	93	94	95		
Quire 13	96: m	97	98	99	100	101	102	103		
Quire 14	104: n	105	106	107	108	109	110	111		
Quire 15	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119		
Quire 16	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127		
Quire 17	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137
Quire 18	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145		
Quire 19	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153		
Quire 20	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161: paper		




-  main scribe (Scragg's no. 898, Ker's 'Hand 1'): ff. 9r-110v appear to have been written in one stint; the table of contents on ff. 5r-8r cover only the material written in this stint.
-  change in appearance of hand, although possibly still the main scribe: ff. 111r-137v form a contiguous addition to the original material in the lettered quires.
-  Quires 18-20 seem to be an independent booklet which was added at an early stage, containing homilies in a number of hands; some of these hands also made early additions on ff. 1-4.

Fig. 2. The quire structure of Hatton 113

leaf number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Quire 1	ii: calendar and computus tables: multiple hands	iii:	iv:	v:	vi:	vii:	viii:	ix:	x:	xi: →
Quire 2	1:	2:	3:	4:	5:	6:	7:	8:		
Quire 3	9: p	10:	11:	12:	13:	14:	15:	16:		
Quire 4	17: q	18:	19:	20:	21:	22:	23:	24:		
Quire 5	25: r	26:	27:	28:	29:	30:	31:	32:		
Quire 6	33: s	34:	35:	36:	37:	38:	39:	40:		
Quire 7	41: t	42:	43:	44:	45:	46:	47:	48:		
Quire 8	49: u	50:	51:	52:	53:	54:	55:	56:		
Quire 9	57: p	58:	59:	60:	61:	62:	63:	64:		
Quire 10	65: x	66:	67:	68:	69:	70:	71:	72:		
Quire 11	73: y	74:	75:	76:	77:	78:	79:	80:		
Quire 12	81: z	82:	83:	84:	85:	86:	87:	88:		
Quire 13	89: &c	90:	91:	92:	93:	94:	95:	96:		
Quire 14	97: ]	98:	99:	100:	101:	102:	103:	104:		
Quire 15	105: p	106:	107:	108:	109:	110:	111:	112:		
Quire 16	113: p	114:	115:	116:	117:	118:	119:	120:		
Quire 17	121:	122:	123:	124:	125:	126:	127:	128:		
Quire 18	129:	130:	131:	132:	133:	134:	135:	136:		
Quire 19	137:	138:	139: half-sheet	140:	141:	142: half-sheet	143:	144:	145-146: added by William Dugdale (Ker, <i>Catalogue</i> , p. 398)	







-  Main scribe (Scragg's no. 898, Ker's 'Hand 1')
-  This looks like the main hand writing some time later, as Junius 121 at f. 111r: in Hatton 113 this hand wrote the letter to St Wulfstan on f. iir.
-  This hand added the table of contents on f. xiv, and wrote homilies at the the end of the book (Hatton 114, ff. 230v-235v, and 242v-246v).


Fig. 3. The quire structure of Hatton 114

leaf number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Quire 1	1	2	3	4	**	5	6	7	8	
Quire 2	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		
Quire 3	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
Quire 4	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32		
Quire 5	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40		
Quire 6	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48		
Quire 7	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56		
Quire 8	57	58	59: half-sheet	60	61	62: half-sheet	63	64		
Quire 9	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72		
Quire 10	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80		
Quire 11	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88		
Quire 12	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96		
Quire 13	97	97*	98	99	100	101	102	103		
Quire 14	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111		
Quire 15	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119		
Quire 16	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127		
Quire 17	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135		
Quire 18	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143		
Quire 19	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151		
Quire 20	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159		
Quire 21	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167		
Quire 22	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175		
Quire 23	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183		
Quire 24	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191		
Quire 25	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200: added	
Quire 26	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210
Quire 27	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220
Quire 28	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230
Quire 29	231	232	233	234	235	missing	missing	236		
Quire 30	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246
										247: added

 Main scribe (Scragg's no. 898, Ker's 'Hand 1'): this hand wrote all the material up to and including the first seven lines of f. 201r

 Change in appearance of hand, although possibly still the main scribe, as Junius 121 at f. 111r; the first quire which was added to Hatton 114 also contains entries in this hand.

 This hand added homilies to the end of the book, and wrote the table of contents in Hatton 113 (f. xi verso); it may be the same as the main scribe but at a later date; Scragg lists this as a different hand (no. 899).

 \*\* On f. 4v the beginning of a homily was added (Ker's 'Hand 3'; Scragg no. 904).


 --- On ff. 5r-8v a homily was added (Ker's 'Hand 4'; Scragg no. 905).



Fig. 4. Possible original arrangement of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, quire 1. The large arrows represent the movement of the leaves if they were to be folded back the other way, or 'inside out'.

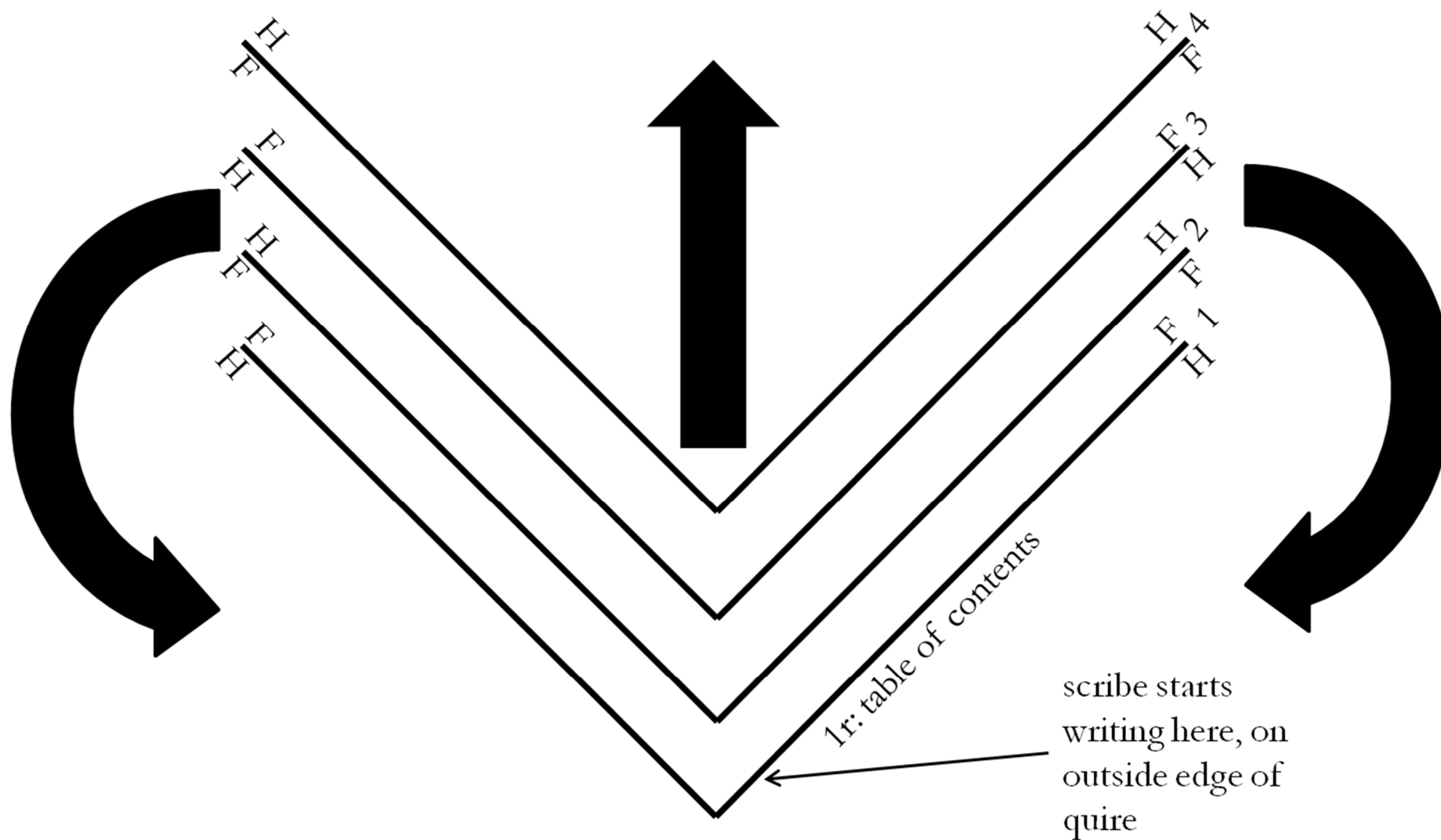


Fig. 5. How the quire in Fig. 2 would look if folded back the other way, or 'inside out'.

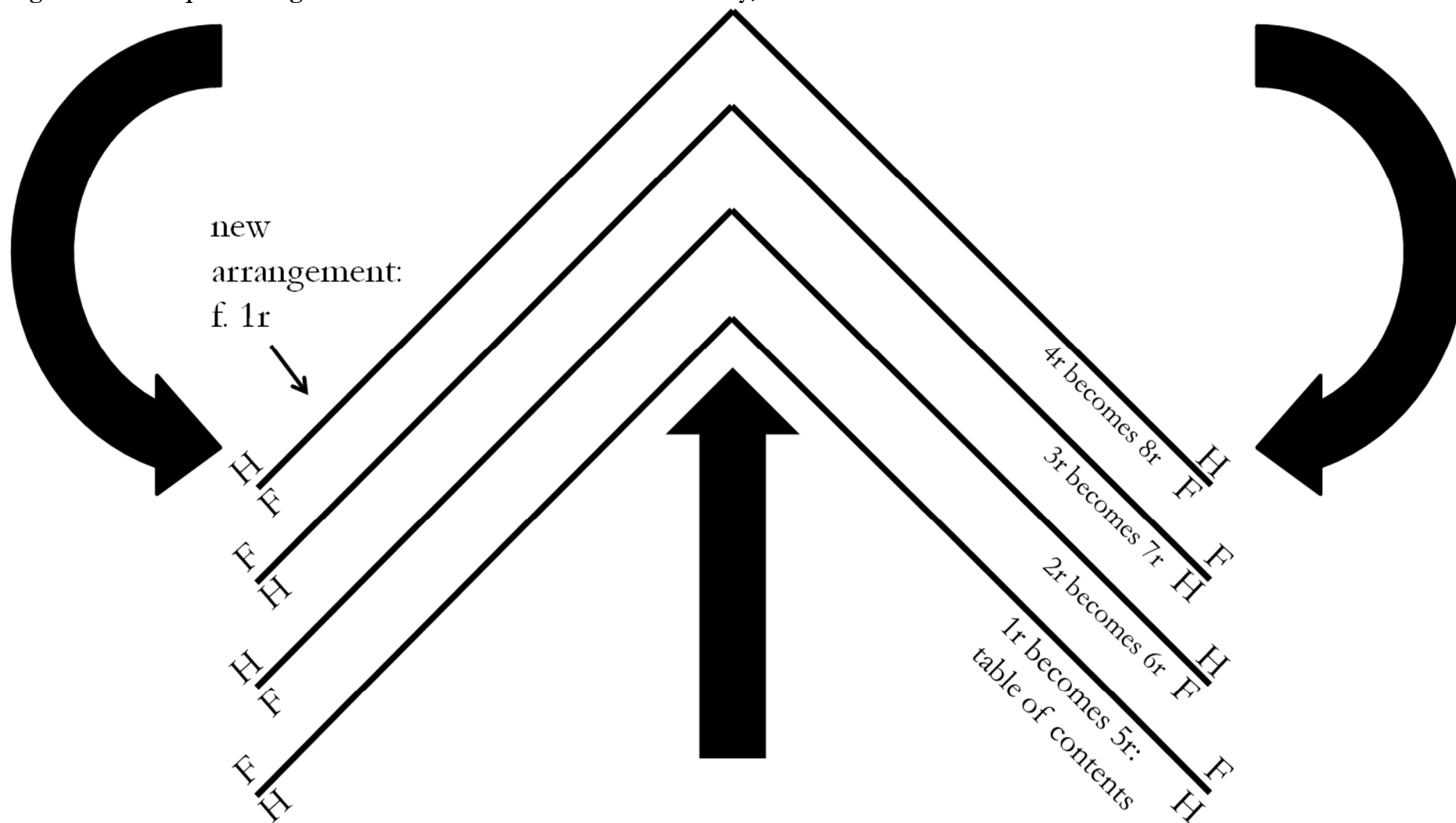




Fig. 6. The quire structure of CCCC 201 (including quire 13 both as it is now, and if rearranged to take account of the misbinding of pp. 171-4)

leaf number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Quire 1	1	2 3	4 5	6 7	8 9	10 11	12 13	14 15
Quire 2	17	18 19	20 21	22 23	24 25	26 27	28 29	30 31
Quire 3	33	34 35	36 37	38 39	40 41	42 43	44 45	46 47
Quire 4	49	50 51	52 53	54 55	56 57	58 59	60 61	62 63
Quire 5	missing	65	66 67	68 69	70 71	72 73	74 75	76 77
Quire 6	79	80 81	82 83	84 85	86 87	88 89	90 91	92 93
Quire 7	95	96 97	98 99	100 101	102 103	104 105	106 107	108 109
Quire 8	111	112 113	114 115	116 117	118 119	120 121	122 123	124 125
Quire 9	127	128 129	130 131	132 133	134 135	136 137	138 139	140 141
missing quire before p. 143								
Quire 10	143	144	145 (partially blank)	146 (blank)				
Quire 11	147	148 149	150	151	152 153	154		
	saints of england			Genesis				
Quire 12	missing	155	156 157	158 159	160	missing	missing	
		Genesis cont.						
Quire 13	161	162 163	164 165	166 167	168 169	170 171	172 173	174 175
	Lord's prayer and Gloria poems					misbound		
Quire 13 [rearranged]	161	162 163	164 165	166 167	168 169	170 175	176 (blank)	177 (blank)
	Lord's prayer and Gloria poems					lacking		
	↑ 171-4 bifolium between 176 and 177							

Early eleventh-century hand, Quire 1 (pp. 1-7) and Quire 13 (161-7); Scragg's no. 125; Ker, no. 49A.

Main scribe, mid eleventh-century hand (pp. 8-150/151 and 167-70); Scragg's no. 127, Ker's 'Hand 1' of no. 49B.  
 Note the blank leaves at the end of Quire 10 (ff. 145-6) and the saints of England in Quire 11

 Quire 11-12 (pp. 151-50), mid eleventh-century hand; Scragg's no. 128, Ker's 'Hand 2' of no. 49B. This hand wrote only the translation of Genesis in Quires 11-12.

 Addition of Latin confessional texts, a hand which appears in other New Minster manuscripts (Ker's 'Hand 3' of no. 49B)

## Appendix: Contents of Manuscripts

### Junius 121 Contents

Item number	Folios	Text title	Published	Other copies
J121-1	5r-8r	Incipiunt capitula canonicorum		
J121-2	9r	Be heofonlicum cyninge	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , p. 39	
J121-3	9r-10r	Be eorðlicum cyninge	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 41-51	C201-42
J121-4	10r-v	Be cynedome	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 52-4	C201-43
J121-5	10v-11r	Be cynestole	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 55-58	C201-44
J121-6	11r-12v	Be ðeodwitan	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 62-66	
J121-7	12v-13v	Item de episcopis	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 67-74	C201-46
J121-8	13v-15r	Item [ <i>Episcopus</i> ]	Whitelock, <i>Councils &amp; Synods</i> , no. 56	
J121-9	15r	Item. Bisceopes dægweorc	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 75-76	
J121-10	15r-v	Item. A gerist bisceopum wisdom	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , p. 77	
J121-11	15v-17r	Incipit de synodo	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 210-16	
J121-12	17r-v	Be eorlum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 78-80	C201-47
J121-13	17v-18r	Be gerefan	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 81-82	
J121-14	18r-v	Be abbodum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 122	C201-50
J121-15	18v-19r	Be munecum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 123-27	C201-51
J121-16	19r-v	Be mynecenan	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 128	C201-52
J121-17	19v	Be preostan ⁊ be nunnan	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 129	C201-53
J121-18	19v	Be wudewan	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 137	C201-55
J121-19	20r-v	Be godes þeowum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 167-69	
J121-20	20v-23v	Be sacerdum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 85-108	C201-48, 74
J121-21	23v-24r	Ad sacerdotes	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 170-72	C201-70
J121-22	24r-25r	Ad sacerdotes	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 173-77	
J121-23	25v-31v	Item sinodalia Decreta	Fowler, <i>Canons of Edgar</i>	C201-60
J121-24	31v-32	Be læwedum mannum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 130-34	C201-54
J121-25	32r-34r	Be gehadedum mannum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 109-21	C201-49
J121-26	34r-35v	Be gehadedum mannum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 217-22	
J121-27	35v-42r	De ecclesiasticis gradibus	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 223-47	C201-64
J121-28	42r-55r	De officiis diurnalium nocturnalium horarum	Ure, <i>Benedictine Office</i>	C201-65; 82
J121-29	55v-57v	De regula canonicorum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 248-55; Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , Xa	
J121-30	57v-59r	Be cyrican	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 138-52	C201-56
J121-31	59r-59*r	Be eallum cristenum mannum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 154-64	C201-57
J121-32	59*r-61v	Be godcundre warnunge	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XIX	C201-11
J121-33	61v-62v	Her is scrift ⁊ andetnes ægðer twegra. ge gehadodra. ge læwedra.	Spindler, <i>Bußbuch</i> , Ia, 170-71	
J121-34	63r-63r	Leofa man ðe is mycel	Foxhall Forbes, pp. 343-5	
J121-35	64r-65v	Be ðæs halgan sunnandæges gebede	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , VIIa (also Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XXVI)	C201-8

<b>J121-36</b>	65v-66r	Be þæs mæssepreostes gesceadwisnysse	Fowler, 'Handbook', 3, pp. 19-20	<b>C201-69</b>
<b>J121-37</b>	66v-67r	Be scriftum	Fowler, 'Handbook', 5	
<b>J121-38</b>	67r-v	Be synna lacnunge	Fowler, 'Handbook', 5	<b>C201-70</b>
<b>J121-39</b>	67v-69v	Be þeodores gesetnysse hu man sceall fæsten alysan.	Spindler, <i>Bußbuch</i> , Ic, 172-74	
<b>J121-40</b>	69v-87r	Incipit liber primus cum capitolis atque cum suis sentialis [sic]	Raith, pp. 1-53	
<b>J121-41</b>	87r-101r	Iudicium de peccatis multis	Spindler, <i>Bußbuch</i> , pp. 2-28, 174-94	
<b>J121-42</b>	101r	Gif hwylc man wifige on his nextan magan.	Raith, p. 25	
<b>J121-43</b>	101v-110v	Incipit epistola de canonibus.	Fehr, <i>Hirtenbriefe</i> , I	
<b>J121-44</b>	111r-124r	De seunda [sic] epistola quando diuidis crisma	Fehr, <i>Hirtenbriefe</i> , III	
<b>J121-45</b>	124r-130v	Evangelii. Esto consentiens aduersario.	Assmann, <i>Angelsächsische Homilien</i> , 1, 4/90-12	
<b>J121-46</b>	130v-136v	Dominica post ascensionem domini	Pope, <i>Supplementary Homilies</i> , IX	
<b>J121-47</b>	136v-137v	De anticristo	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , Ib	<b>C201-32</b>
<b>J121-48</b>	138r-142r	Dominica I de aduentu domini	Clemons, <i>CH</i> I.39	
<b>J121-49</b>	142r-148v	Dominica II de aduentu domini	Clemons <i>CH</i> I.40	
<b>J121-50</b>	148v-154v	De descensu Christe ad Inferos	Fadda	
<b>J121-51</b>	154v-157r	Ælfric's preface to <i>CH</i> I, adapted as a homily	Clemons, <i>CH</i> I, pp. 174/57-176/119	
<b>J121-52</b>	157r-160r	In assumptione sancte marie uirginis	Godden <i>CH</i> II.29	

### Hatton 113 Contents

Item number	Folios	Text title/incipit	Published	
<b>H113-1</b>	xi verso	Capitula		
<b>H113-2</b>	1r-3r	De initio creature	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , I	<b>C201-2</b>
<b>H113-3</b>	3r-4r	Be frumsceafte	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , LXII	<b>C201-3</b>
<b>H113-4</b>	4r-10v	Incipiunt sermones lupi episcopi	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , VI	<b>C201-4</b>
<b>H113-5</b>	10v-16r	Item sermo de fide	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , VII	<b>C201-5</b>
<b>H113-6</b>	16r-21r	Sermo de bapismate [sic]	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , VIIIc	<b>C201-63</b>
<b>H113-7</b>	21r-27r	Incipit de uisione Isaie prophete	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XI	<b>C201-29</b>
<b>H113-8</b>	27r-v	De septiforme spiritu	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , IX	<b>C201-30</b>
<b>H113-9</b>	27v-31v	Be ðam seofanfealdan godes gyfan	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , IX	<b>C201-30</b>
<b>H113-10</b>	31v-33r	De anticristo [Lat]	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , Ia	<b>C201-31</b>
<b>H113-11</b>	33r-34v	De anticristo [OE]	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , Ib	<b>C201-32</b>

<b>H113-12</b>	34r-38r	De cristianitate [Lat]	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , Xb	<b>C201-27</b>
<b>H113-13</b>	38r-44r	De cristianitate [OE]	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , Xc	<b>C201-28</b>
<b>H113-14</b>	44r-47v	Secundum Marcum	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , V	<b>C201-33</b>
<b>H113-15</b>	47v-49v	Lectio sancti euangelii secundum matheum	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , II	<b>C201-34</b>
<b>H113-16</b>	49v-52v	Secundum Lucam	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , III	<b>C201-35</b>
<b>H113-17</b>	52r-56v	De temporibus anticristi	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , IV	<b>C201-36</b>
<b>H113-18</b>	57v-58v	Sermo in xl.	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XIV	
<b>H113-19</b>	58v-61r	De falsis diis	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XII	
<b>H113-20a</b>	61r-62r	Sermo ad populum	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XIII	<b>[C201-6]</b>
<b>H113-20b</b>	62r-v	Sermo ad populum cont.	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XIII	<b>C201-7</b>
<b>H113-21</b>	62v-65	To folce. Utan don eac swa we gyt læran willað ...	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XXIV	
<b>H113-22</b>	65r-66v	To folce. Leofan men habbað æfre anrædne geleafan ...	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XXV	<b>C201-8</b>
<b>H113-23</b>	66r-73r	Her is halwendlic lar	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XXIX	
<b>H113-24</b>	73r-80v	Be rihtan cristendome	Scragg, <i>Vercelli Homilies</i> , pp. 396-403	
<b>H113-25</b>	80v-81r	We willað nu secgan sume bysne to þisum	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XXXI	
<b>H113-26</b>	81r-83r	Sermo de cena domini	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XV	
<b>H113-27</b>	83r-v	Eala leofan men swytele is gesyne ...	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XXXVII	
<b>H113-28</b>	83v-84v	Lectio secundum Lucam	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XVII [beg. from 243/43; as second half of XVII]	
<b>H113-29</b>	84v-90v	Item sermo lupi ad anglos quando dani ...	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XX (EI)	<b>C201-40</b>
<b>H113-30</b>	90v-91v	Her is gyt rihtlic warnung	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XXI	<b>C201-41</b>
<b>H113-31</b>	91v-93v	Be mistlican gelimpan	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XXXV	<b>C201-12</b>
<b>H113-32</b>	93v-94v	Lectio secundum lucam	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XVII [up to 243/43]; as first half of XVII]	
<b>H113-33</b>	94v-102v	De dominica oratione	Clemons, <i>CH</i> I.19	
<b>H113-34</b>	102v-115v	Sermo ad populum in octavis pentecosten	Pope, <i>Supplementary Homilies</i> , no. XI	
<b>H113-35</b>	115v-124r	Sermo in die natalis domini	Godden, <i>CH</i> II.1	
<b>H113-36</b>	124r-130v	KL Decembris natale sancti stephani ...	Clemons, <i>CH</i> I.3	
<b>H113-37</b>	130v-139v	KL Ianuarius natale sancti Iohannis ...	Clemons, <i>CH</i> I.4	
<b>H113-38 – H114-1</b>	139v-144v; Hatton 114 f. 9r	XIIIa KL Decembris natale sanctorum innocentum	Clemons, <i>CH</i> I.5	

## CCCC 201 Contents

Item number	Page number	Text title	Published	
<b>C201-1</b>	1-7	OE Regularis Concordia	Zupitza, 'Ein weiteres	

			Bruchstück', p. 2	
<b>C201-2</b>	8-9	Adam se æresta man	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , I	<b>H113-2</b>
<b>C201-3</b>	9-10	De etatibus mundi	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , LXII	<b>H113-3</b>
<b>C201-4</b>	10-15	Incipiunt sermonis [sic] lupi episcopi	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , VI	<b>H113-4</b>
<b>C201-5</b>	15-19	De fide catholica	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , VII	<b>H113-5</b>
<b>C201-6</b>	19-20	Wulfstan arcebishop greteð freondlice	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XIII	<b>[H113-20a]</b>
<b>C201-7</b>	20-22	To folce	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XIII	<b>H113-20</b>
<b>C201-8</b>	22-24	To folce	a) Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XXV and b) Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , VIIa (also Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XXVI)	<b>a) H113-22; b) J121-35</b>
<b>C201-9</b>	24-25	To eallum folce	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XXIII	
<b>C201-10</b>	25	To eallum folce	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XXVII	
<b>C201-11</b>	25-28	To eallum folce	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XXXIV; XXVIII; Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XIX	<b>J121-32 [part]</b>
<b>C201-12</b>	28-29	Be mislicum gelimpum	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XXXV	<b>H113-31</b>
<b>C201-13</b>	29-30	Her is git oþer wel god eaca	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XXXVIII	
<b>C201-14</b>	30	Dis man gerædde þa se micle here com to lande [VIIa Æthelred]	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XXXIX; Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , p. 262	
<b>C201-15</b>	31-40	To gehadedum mannum	Fehr, <i>Hirtenbriefe</i> , II	
<b>C201-16</b>	40-42	Be gehadedum mannum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 109-21	<b>J121-25</b>
<b>C201-17</b>	42	To gehadedum 7 læwedum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 131-35	<b>J121-24</b>
<b>C201-18</b>	42-43	Be eallum cristenum mannum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 139-51	<b>J121-30</b>
<b>C201-19</b>	43-46	Norðhymbra preosta lagu	Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , pp. 380-5	
<b>C201-20</b>	46-47	Her is eadgares cynincges gerædnes [II Edgar]	Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , pp. 194-200	
<b>C201-21</b>	47-48	Eadgares cynincges gerædnes [III Edgar]	Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , pp. 200-7	
<b>C201-22</b>	48-52	In nomine domini. Dis is seo gerædnes þe engla cyningc. [V Æthelred]	Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , pp. 237-47 [except passage on p. 51, ll. 6-37 (Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 155-65), which occurs at p. 92]	
<b>C201-23</b>	52	De preceptis domini	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , X, p. 66, l. 9 - p. 67, l. 9	
<b>C201-24</b>	52	De uitis [sic] principalibus	unprinted; similar to Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , X, p. 68, ll. 13-18	
<b>C201-25</b>	52	De uirtutibus	unprinted; similar to Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , X, p. 68, l. 18 - p. 69, l. 4	
<b>C201-26</b>	53	Æðelstanes cinyncges gerædnes [I Æthelstan]	Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , p. 146-8	
<b>C201-27</b>	53-56	De cristianitate	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , Xb	<b>H113-12</b>
<b>C201-28</b>	56-61	Her onginneð be cristendome	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , Xc	<b>H113-13</b>
<b>C201-29</b>	61-64	Incipit de uisione isaie prophete	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XI	<b>H113-7</b>
<b>C201-30</b>	65-66	... þe of godes agenre gife cymð	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , IX	<b>H113-8</b>
<b>C201-31</b>	66-67	De anticristo (Lat)	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , Ia	<b>H113-10</b>
<b>C201-32</b>	67-68	De anticristo (OE)	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , Ib	<b>H113-11</b>
<b>C201-33</b>	68-71	Interrogatus iesus. a discipulis	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , V	<b>H113-14</b>

<b>C201-34</b>	71-72	Egressus iesus de templo	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , II	<b>H113-15</b>
<b>C201-35</b>	72-74	Erunt signa in sole et luna et stellis	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , III	<b>H113-16</b>
<b>C201-36</b>	74-78	Leofan men us is swiðe micel þearf	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , IV	<b>H113-17</b>
<b>C201-37</b>	78-80	Leofan men ælmihti god us singallice manað	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , no. 40	<b>H114-[ff.1-4v]</b>
<b>C201-38</b>	80-81	Uerba ezechiel prophete de pigris aut timidis uel neglegentibus pastoribus	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XVIb	
<b>C201-39</b>	81	Ne dear ic nu for godes ege	Napier, <i>Wulfstan</i> , XLI	
<b>C201-40</b>	82-86	Sermo lupi ad anglos quando dani maxime persecuti sunt eos	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XX (C)	<b>H113-29</b>
<b>C201-41</b>	86-87	Sermo lupi.	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , XXI	<b>H113-30</b>
<b>C201-42</b>	87	Be cinincge	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 40-51	<b>J121-3</b>
<b>C201-43</b>	87	Be cinedome	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 52-4	<b>J121-4</b>
<b>C201-44</b>	87-88	Ælc cynestol stent	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 55-8	<b>J121-5</b>
<b>C201-45</b>	88	De episcopis paulus dicit	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 59-61	
<b>C201-46</b>	88-89	Item. Byscopas sculon bocum ȝ gebedum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 67-73	<b>J121-7</b>
<b>C201-47</b>	89	Be eorlum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 78-80	<b>J121-12</b>
<b>C201-48</b>	89	Be sacerдум	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 84	<b>J121-20</b>
<b>C201-49</b>	89-90	Be gehadedum mannum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 109-114	<b>J121-25</b>
<b>C201-50</b>	90	Be abbodum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 122	<b>J121-14</b>
<b>C201-51</b>	90	Be munecum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 123-4	<b>J121-15</b>
<b>C201-52</b>	90	Be minecenan	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 128	<b>J121-16</b>
<b>C201-53</b>	90	Be preostum 7 be nunnan	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 129	<b>J121-17</b>
<b>C201-54</b>	90-91	Be læwedum mannum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 130-34	<b>J121-18</b>
<b>C201-55</b>	91	Be wudewan	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 136	<b>J121-18</b>
<b>C201-56</b>	91-92	Be circan	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 138-52	<b>J121-30</b>
<b>C201-57</b>	92-93	Be eallum cristenum mannum	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 154-64	<b>J121-31</b>
<b>C201-58</b>	93-96	Anno .M.XIII. ab incarnatione domini nostri iesu cristi. [VIII Æthelred]	Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , pp. 263-8	
<b>C201-59</b>	96-97	Her gebirat to æðestanes gerædnes hu he be teoðunge gerædde. her onginneð eadmundes gerædnes. [I Edmund]	Lieberman, <i>Gesetze</i> , pp. 184-6	
<b>C201-60</b>	97-101	Her gebirað nu to eadgares gerædnes. be gehadodum mannum liffadunge	Fowler, <i>Canons of Edgar</i>	<b>J121-23</b>
<b>C201-61</b>	101-103	<i>Gefyncðo, Norðdlead, Mirce, Að I, Að II, Had</i>	Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , pp. 456, 458-60, 462, 464, 464-8	
<b>C201-62</b>	103-105	Incipit de baptisma	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , VIIa	
<b>C201-63</b>	105-108	Leofan men eallum cristenum mannum is ...	Bethurum, <i>Homilies</i> , VIIc	<b>H113-6</b>
<b>C201-64</b>	108-112	De ecclesiasticis gradibus	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 223-47	<b>J121-27</b>
<b>C201-65</b>	112-114	De ecclesiasticis officiis	Ure, <i>Benedictine Office</i> , pp. 81-2, 95-6, 97-8, 99-100, 100-102	<b>J121-28 [part]</b>



<b>C201-66</b>	114-115	Quando aliquis uoluerit confessionem facere	Fowler, 'Handbook', I, p. 16	
<b>C201-67</b>	115-117	Ðæt sceal geþencan se þe bið manna sawla læce	Fowler, 'Handbook', 3, pp. 19-20	
<b>C201-68</b>	115, l. 37 – 117, l. 2	Æfter þisum arise eadmodlice ...	Fowler, 'Handbook', 2, pp. 17-19 [here inserted into Fowler's no. 3]	
<b>C201-69</b>	117-21	Þas þeawas man healt begeondan sæ	Fowler, 'Handbook', 4, pp. 20-26	<b>J121-36</b>
<b>C201-70</b>	121-124	Be dædbetan	Fowler, 'Handbook' 5, pp. 26-32	<b>J121-38 [and 21]</b>
<b>C201-71</b>	124-125	Be mihtigum mannum	Fowler, 'Handbook', 6, pp. 32-34	
<b>C201-72</b>	125-126	Theodorus de egris qui ieiunare non possunt	Wasserschleben, <i>Bussordnungen</i> , p. 622	
<b>C201-73</b>	126-30	In nomine domini. Ðis is seo gerædnes þe witan geræddon.	Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , pp. 278-80, 308-12, 288-91, 252-6, 318, 256-8	
<b>C201-74</b>	130-131	Be sacerdan	Jost, <i>Polity</i> , pp. 104-5	<b>J121-20</b>
<b>C201-75</b>	131-145	Her onginneð seo gerecednes be antioche ... [ <i>Old English Apollonius</i> ]	Zupitza, 'Die altenglische Bearbeitung', p. 18	
<b>C201-76</b>	147-149	Her cyð ymbe þa halgan þe on angelcynne restað	Liebermann, <i>Die Heiligen Englands</i> , p. 1-9	
<b>C201-77</b>	149-151	Her onginneð secgan be þam godes sanctum	Liebermann, <i>Die Heiligen Englands</i> , p. 9-20	
<b>C201-78</b>	151-160	Her cydde god ælmihtig ...	Crawford, <i>Heptateuch</i> , pp. 170, 181, 187	
<b>C201-79</b>	161-167	De die iudicii [ <i>Judgement Day II</i> ]	Caie, <i>Judgement Day II</i>	
<b>C201-80</b>	165-167	<i>An Exhortation to Christian Living; Summons to Prayer</i>	Dobbie, <i>Minor Poems</i> , pp. 58-70	
<b>C201-81</b>	167-169	<i>Lord's Prayer II</i>	Dobbie, <i>Minor poems</i> , p. 70	
<b>C201-82</b>	169-170	<i>Gloria</i>	Dobbie, <i>Minor poems</i> , p. 70	<b>J121-28 [part]</b>
<b>C201-83</b>	170-176	Quando aliquis uoluerit ...		

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